THE UKRAINIAN SETTLERS IN CANADA AND THEIR SCHOOLS 1891 - 1921

L. Bilweiler

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AND THEIR SCHOOLS

1891 —— 1921

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WITH REFERENCE TO GOVERNMENT,
FRENCH CANADIAN, AND UKRAINIAN
MISSIONARY INFLUENCES
1891 —— 1921

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a brief historical survey of the educational opportunities offered the pioneer Ukrainian settlers upon their arrival in Western Canada. The thirty-year period under investigation begins with the arrival of the "first" Ukrainians in Canada in 1891. This study attempts to gauge and evaluate the educational influences of government, missionary, and private forces concerned with the school problems of the Ukrainian settlers. The study is introduced with a review of the factors relating to the Ukrainian immigration and a short history of the Ukrainian immigration in Canada. The Basilian Fathers and Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate were the first Ukrainian religious groups to play an important role in the educational history of the Ukrainian Canadian settlers. The immediate work of the Basilian Fathers in education was closely linked with the contribution of the French Canadian missionaries who strove to provide educational facilities for Ukrainian children. An interesting aspect of the educational growth of Ukrainian Canadians in Western Canada was the establishing of the government-sponsored training schools before the First World War for Ukrainian students in Winnipeg, Brandon, Regina, and Vegreville. These schools prepared the students for the university or the provincial normal schools, and in the case of the Brandon school, offered a three-year teacher-training program permitting the graduates to teach in Manitoba. This thesis also records a short history of two Ukrainian private schools, Sacred Heart Academy and St. Joseph's College, which were founded in the times of the Ukrainian settlers in Saskatchewan and are successfully in operation today. The work and difficulties of the early Ukrainian teachers with particular reference to Alberta, and the use of the Ukrainian language in the schools, are discussed in Chapters VII and VIII. This study is based on a unique collection of relatively unknown original and primary sources. The included appendix on Ukrainian Canadian literature has been added as related information of general interest. The writer hopes that this work may contribute towards bridging one of the gaps in the educational history of the Canadian people.

FOREWORD

Since the Second World War, a continuously growing interest has been revealed in Slav studies. Canadian universities are becoming more and more concerned with the establishing of departments of Slav studies and are beginning to found libraries for the growing number of students interested in research in this and related fields. The Canadian press makes frequent reference to the increasing interest in the Canadian Slav groups, the Slav languages, and in the history and culture of the Slav peoples.

One of the largest ethnic groups to immigrate into Canada was the Ukrainian. The large-scale exodus from the Ukraine began with Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pillipiw who arrived in Canada in 1891. The history of Ukrainian pioneering begins with these two men. At the beginning of the First World War, there were over 150,000 Ukrainians in Canada. With their arrival and settling in the prairie provinces, the various provincial governments and the Ukrainians themselves were confronted with a new problem in education. Schools and teachers were required for thousands of Ukrainian children who had little or no knowledge of the English language. It is the purpose of this history to determine what steps were taken to meet a growing challenge in education during the pioneering life of the Ukrainian settlers and wherever possible to evaluate the effectiveness of the procedures adopted.

Very little research has been done on the history of the Ukrainian settlers in Canada, but in latter years Ukrainian Canadian university students in particular are beginning to take an interest in this relatively unopened field. Amongst others, there are one or two studies in assimilation, such as C. H. Young's The Ukrainian Canadians, and Paul Yuzyk's Social History, which is limited to the Ukrainians In Manitoba. At the moment other writers are preparing theses and dissertations on Ukrainian organizations, the Ukrainian Catholic press, and the educational achievements of the Ukrainian Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate during the past fifty years.

The present work, which is limited to the Ukrainian settlers and their schools, deals with that difficult period between 1891 and the end of the First World War when the Ukrainians were confronted with the problem of settling down, opening new lands, and educating their children. It is hoped that this and other similar works will serve as a guide to sources and bibliography, as well as encourage other graduate students who may desire to do research in a new and relatively unexplored field.

In almost all instances the sources used are primary. When possible, interviews were held with pioneer teachers and early school organizers, or reference was made to written memoirs or newspaper articles. It has been necessary to search old files of early pioneer Ukrainian newspapers, and often difficulties occurred because complete files of the earliest years are extremely rare. In many cases only one or two original copies of a paper or pamphlet remain and are museum pieces. Another valuable source, but unfortunately very rare and incomplete, is the early Ukrainian Calendar-Almanacs which are rich in information on the early Ukrainian pioneering life. In some instances it has been possible to examine original documents, or photostats of them which have been preserved through the care of the Basilian Fathers' Archives and Museum at Mundare, Alberta.

The writer is extremely grateful to the Very Reverend Father Josaphat Jean, O.S.B.M., who, although of French- Canadian descent, became one of the first Ukrainian-Canadian teachers. Father Jean, who himself has experienced the Ukrainian pioneer life as a missionary and teacher, has generously made a large personal collection of documents, letters, photographs, photostats, very early newspapers, calendar-almanacs, and pamphlets available to the writer. His compilation of materials on the early Ukrainian Canadian school problems has proved invaluable in the preparation of this work and as a guide to further original sources. The writer also wishes to thank the Very Reverend V. Shewchuk, O.S.B.M., of the Basilian Fathers in Canada for his unfailing interest and encouragement throughout the preparation of this work.

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CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL FACTORS RELATING TO THE UKRAINIAN IMMIGRATION

Introduction

This chapter attempts briefly to outline those predisposing causes and immediate economic effects of the abrogation of serfdom in the Ukraine in 1848 which led to the mass emigration of the Ukrainian peasant in the early 1870's It does not touch upon the role of the Ukrainian intelligentsia who, painfully aware of the tragic lot of their peasant brothers, the soul of the Ukrainian state, did all in their power by means of their writings and their teachings in foreign controlled universities in the Ukraine to alleviate the unhappy lot of the vast peasant class held in bondage through the centuries.

What made the Ukrainians come to Canada? For hundreds of years Ukraine has been a submerged nation. This land of forty million people has had its ethnographic boundaries overrun constantly through the centuries by its enemies. It has suffered subjugation, persecution, enslavement, and barbaric cruelty. Occasionally the world's press makes casual reference to the Ukraine and its people which today as an enslaved satellite of the U.S.S.R. continues to be moved by a fierce restlessness of spirit and hunger for its independence.

It may seem strange to the reader that Ukraine, once a nation of glorious dynasties having diplomatic relations with all the important countries of Europe and feared by its enemies during the saga of its Cossack epoch, should eventually be reduced to a state of servitude and bondage.

From the chronicles of Tietmar von Merseburg dated 1017 one reads:

> The wide dynastic connection between the Kievan princes and the western European courts contributed to the preservation of historiographical sources pertaining to the strength, wealth and culture of the Kievan princes.

Princess Anna, a daughter of Yaroslav the Wise, is mentioned in many French historical documents. The second wife of King Henry I of France, she outlived her husband and become the regent for her minor son Philip I...

Another daughter of Prince Yaroslav the Wise, Elizabeth, was married to the Crown Prince of Norway, Harold the Bold, a famous warrior who lived a long time in Ukraine and who later became King of Norway.[1]

Writing on the same subject Paul Yuzyk says:

Owing to her power, prosperity, and high level of culture, Kievan Rus developed wide dynastic and diplomatic relations. Emperor Yaroslav was married to the daughter of the Swedish king, Olaf, and later to the daughter of the Byzantine emperor. One of his daughters was married to the Norwegian king, Harald Haardraade, claimant to the English throne. Another daughter, Anna, married King Henry I of France and ruled as queen during her son Philip's minority. Other marriages took place with German, Hungarian, Greek, and Polish rulers. Before ascending the English throne King Edward the Confessor had sought refuge in Kiev, as did many others. Later Volodymir Monomachus (1113-25) another powerful ruler of the Kievan state, married Gytha, the daughter of King Harold of England.[2]

It is also interesting to note that Edmund Ironside, King of the English (1016) sought refuge in the Kievan court of Jaroslaw.[3]

By 1667 Russia and Poland had divided Ukraine between them and re-stablished the feudalistic aristocratic order in spite of Cossack resistance under Hetman* Peter Doroshenko and later Hetman Ivan Mazeppa. One of the last dynamic efforts at resistance, under the Zaporozhian Sich, was finally destroyed in 1775 by the Russians.

Ukraine's former alliances with Russia under Hetman Khmelnitsky gradually paved the way for the infiltration of Ukraine by Russian overlords and absorption into the Russian Empire. Only an instinctive sense of self-preservation has led the Ukrainians to keep their identity as a nation distinct from that of Russia to this day. Harassed from the north by Russia, the Ukrainians west of the Dnieper River were held under the tyrannical subjection of the Polish landlords. It was in parti-

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[1] Volodymyr Sichynsky, **Ukraine in Foreign Comments and Descriptions,** p. 37. New York: Published by Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., 1953.

[2] Paul Yuzyk, **The Ukrainians in Manitoba,** a Social History, p. 7, Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1953.

[3] N. Polonska-Wasylenko "Kniaza Doba", **Encyclopedia of Ukraine** in two volumes, Vol. I, pp. 411-431. Edited by Volodymyr Kubijovyc and Zenon Kuzela. Munich—New York: Shevchenko Scientific Society, Inc., 1949.

* For Glossary of Unusual Terms, see **Appendix I.**

cular the thumb of the Polish nobility that the Ukrainian peasant had held over him during his long period of serfdom. The dire subjection of the peasants under the Polish landlords is a story in itself. It is a story of cruelty, tyranny, and the loss of human dignity. Here it is sketched rapidly to show those economic factors which led to the mass Ukrainian emigration.

Ukraine Under Austria

In 1772, 1793, and 1795 Poland was partitioned by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Western Ukraine, including the province of Galicia, fell into the hands of Austria and Maria Theresa. It was her son Joseph II of Austria, who by his patent of April 5, 1782, relieved the Ukrainian peasant of that extreme form of bondage and servitude known as "kripatstvo".[4]

Joseph II of Austria was a humane man. In spite of the wrath of the Polish nobility and landowners it was his clear purpose to free entirely the Ukrainian peasant from his pitiable conditions of serfdom. On February 10, 1789, he issued a patent to do away with serfdom which was to become effective on November 1, 1790. Unfortunately this man died on February 20, 1790, and his good intentions went with him.[5] His successor Leopold II immediately recalled the revolutionary measures of Joseph II and proclaimed that the landowners would continue to enjoy the same privileges they had under Maria Theresa. So for another half-century the Ukrainian peasant was to remain in bondage. Panschyna or servitude to the landlord continued to exist until it was finally abolished by the famous patent of Ferdinand I of Austria on April 17, 1848.[6]

The Life of the Ukrainian Serf

How cruel the life of the Ukrainian serf, rustic peasant, or "chlop", as he was called, was—can be visualized by a short description of his relationship to the Pan or landlord.[7] The system of Panschyna was that of extreme inequality between the lot of the Pan and that of the Ukrainian peasant serf.

When three hundred feet from the feudal mansion the "chlop" was required to take off his hat. He could not marry without permission of the feudal lord or Pan. Whereas the Jew

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[4] Dr. Ivan Franko, **Panschyna ta yiyi Skasovanie 1848 r. v Halychyni, (Serfdom and its Abolition in 1848 in Galicia)**, p. 56. Second Revised Edition. Lwiw: Ukrainsko-Ruskoi Vydawnychoi Spilky, 1913.

[5] **Ibid.**, p. 72.

[6] **Ibid.**, p. 168.

[7] **Ibid.**, p. 175.

could present himself before the Pan for redress of his grievances, the "chlop" would not be admitted. If the "chlop's" cattle were sick and he was unable to work the feudal land, he would be told to harness himself and his wife. The feudal landlords frowned upon the education of the "chlop's" child. If the child received any education at all, it was only with permission of the Pan. If the youth incurred his displeasure he would be enrolled for military service in the army. Since the age level for admission into the army was eventually reduced from twenty years to twelve, and once a youth entered the army he rarely returned home, it was a convenient form of liquidation.

The life of the Ukrainian serf differed very little from that of the working cattle. He had a hut and a small plot of land on which he worked, but for the rest he belonged to the Pan. Without permission of the feudal lord, he could not buy or trade, increase or decrease his wordly goods. His free work on the lord's fields was capital for the Pan, although the landlords themselves had forgotten through the centuries why the serf was working for them. Actually the land did not belong to the Pan for he could not take it away from the serf. On the other hand it did not belong to the serf who lived on it, worked it, paid tithes and taxes on it, but could not sell it.[8] He could not divide the land amongst his heirs without permission, make loans on it, or improve it. He was simply chattel on the lord's manor. The Pan was his judge, master, taxer, and final administrator. He also had patrimonial rights over the poor serf which meant that he could punish him corporally, and there were no laws limiting the measure of this punishment.

In addition to working his own strip of land the serf was obliged to give so many days a week working the lord's fields, who cared little if these work days fell on a Sunday or Feast Day so important to the deeply religious serf. The Pan took his share of the serf's produce on his own land whether it be eggs, honey, hens, wheat, fruit, etc. The serf was subject to innumerable forms of taxation.[9] There were taxes on the salt he used, the fruit he grew, on every wagon going to market, on the gifts given to the lord's officials, on permission for marriage, and many, many others. Many of the landlords annually forced the serf to buy a definite number of quarts of whisky from the lord's distillery which was to be paid for by extra work on the lord's lands.

The system of panschyna was a record of man's inhuma-

[8] **Ibid., p. 19.**
[9] **Ibid., p. 59.**

nity to man, of cruelty, ignorance, a nightmare of suffering and humiliation, and a loss of human dignity. When Joseph II of Austria tried to correct these conditions in spite of the fierce opposition of the landlords, his first success was with the patent of April 5, 1782, which relieved the peasants of some of the pressure upon them. His noble desire to abolish the system completely failed with his death in 1790, and it was not until April 17, 1848, under Ferdinand I of Austria that the system of panschyna was clearly and definitely abolished.

Economic Effects of the Abolition of Panschyna

Freedom from serfdom was costly for the Ukrainian serfs. Although the immediate shackles were drawn from them, the years that followed involved the matters of: 1) Indemnity, 2) Servitudes, and 3) Propination.[10]

INDEMNITY: The patent of 1848, which freed the serfs, gave the landlords the right of compensation for the losses they had suffered. By 1858 when payments of indemnity were to begin, Eastern Galicia had been assessed 58,853,842 marks and Western Galicia, 38,123,163 marks, or in terms of peasant holdings, 157 marks for every "hospodarstvo" in Eastern Galicia and 223 marks for every "hospodarstvo" in Western Galicia. Although the original plan called for the complete payment of the indemnity within forty years, Western Ukraine had paid on the original assessment and accruing interest a total of 121 million marks within that time and still owed nine million marks. An extension of time until 1908 was given to pay off this remaining debt.

SERVITUDES (FIELDS AND PASTURES): The patent of 1848 required that the peasant pay the landlord for the use of his woods, forests, and pastures. For years the villagers had used section of forests and pastures as those "belonging to the village." These were the servitudes. But now the landlords claimed these, and the outraged peasants were permitted to seek redress through round-about political courts. In 1860, of 32,000 servitude processes in the courts controlled by Polish interests, the Ukrainian peasants lost 30,000. The loss of the servitudes struck at the roots of the national economy. Whole villages were often reduced to such straits that the villagers were forced to go begging, and for many years agriculture as an industry was at a standstill.

PROPINATION (Drink): By propination is meant the right of the landowner to manufacture and sell hard liquor on

[10] **Ibid.,** pp. 187-217.

the territories of his own jurisdiction. The landowners took tremendous advantage of this privilege, and in the year 1876 the province of Galicia was spending 54 million rynsky on liquor. There was no village without a tavern controlled by the landowner. In the year 1876 there were 23,269 taverns in Galicia, and for every soul there were 26 litres of liquor sold.[11]

One can imagine the tremendous damage done to a peasant class where the powers that be encouraged and drove these humble people to drink. Overburdened by taxation, unable to meet their most meagre needs, and lacking sufficient land to support themselves properly, they drowned their despair in drink at the tavern. A forlorn people, almost a lost hope. When the Ukrainian Canadian child today views a comedy on the many Ukrainian stages throughout the country, he wonders at the great number of drunken tavern scenes. Actually he is watching satire, for hundreds of Ukrainian comedy plays were written by indignant Ukrainian patriots who, seeing their country going to ruin through alcoholism, produced these plays to show the tragedy that was befalling a nation.

From this short review it is not difficult to understand the lot of the Ukrainian peasant prior to the emigration. Poverty was his watchword. Extreme need and indigence were his heritage. Buffeted about by the landlord, by the powerful rich, and by oppressive governments, lacking the soil which he loved so dearly, he was deeply proud of his religious faith and the glorious past of his people.

Above all, the peasant wanted land, for the Ukrainian people were true sons of the soil. A man who owned ten morgs (about 13.8 acres) was considered a rich man. It is reported that in 1908:

> Eighty per cent of the agricultural properties were less than twelve and a half acres in size, and almost fifty per cent less than five acres. In the fifty parishes in the political district of Skalat thirty-two per cent of the "rustical" holdings were, in 1882, less than one and a half acres; nearly sixty per cent were under four and a half acres. It is estimated that a man must have fourteen and a half (ten yokes) to get his living by working his own land and to fully occupy his time. Over seventy per cent have not more than half this, and only one tenth is above this minimum of independent farming.[12]

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[11] William Navrotsky, **Pianstwo i Propinatia na Halychyni (Drunkenness and Propination in Galicia),** Vol. 5, pp. 55-56. Geneva: Hromada, 1882. As found in Dr. Ivan Franko, **op. cit.,** p. 214.

[12] Emily Greene Balch, **Our Slavic Fellow Citizens,** p. 138. New York: Charities Publishing Commission, 1910. As quoted in Paul Yuzyk, **op. cit.,** p. 28.

As the years went by the population grew. When the farmer's sons were ready to marry he had little enough to share with his heirs in their new start in life. Soon many Ukrainian peasants were found landless.

Somehow they must break away from the shackles which bound them so tightly.

Conclusion

The foregoing has been sufficient to show the predisposing causes and immediate reasons leading to the Ukrainian need to emigrate. A simple rustic folk forming the backbone of the nation, lovers of the soil, but having no soil on which they could produce those necessary economic fruits, lovers of their nation and conscious of their glorious historical past, they were continually harassed by foreign governments to the point where they were forbidden to speak their own language under pain of fines and imprisonment. Driven and encouraged to drink by a profiteering land nobility, taxed beyond their means, in desperation they turned about and sought means to leave the land of their ancestors and seek refuge in less forbidding soils.

Above all they thirsted for land. In the early 70's and 80's the migration began; some sought refuge on the continent in Prussia, others crossed the seas to Argentine, to Brazil, and to the United States. Then they heard stories, unbelievable at first, that for ten dollars it was possible to obtain more land in Canada than they ever dared dream about. In 1891 the first Ukrainian immigrants came to Canada. These were Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pillipiw of the village of Nebiliv in the district of Kalush of the Province of Galicia in Western Ukraine.

CHAPTER II

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIAN IMMIGRATION IN CANADA — 1891

Introduction

The Ukrainian movement overseas was underway by 1870. The earliest groups emigrated to South America, and by 1879 the Ukrainians had found their way to and established themselves in the United States. The movement to Canada began later and probably resulted from glowing reports of the country by Germans who were working in Ukraine and had relatives already established in Canada. It is estimated that 147,375 Ukrainians entered the United States between 1899 and 1910. By 1918 there were over 60,000 Ukrainians in Brazil and another 10,000 in Argentina.[1]*

Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pillipiw were the first Ukrainians to arrive in Canada in 1891. It is possible that a few may have filtered into Canada from the United States prior to this date. After visiting Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, Pillipiw returned to his home for his family. His glowing accounts of the wonders of the new lands caused such a furor in his native and neigboring villages that he was arrested and jailed for disturbing the peace. Nevertheless he finally returned to Canada with his family and settled near Star, Alberta. Eleniak and Pillipiw are regarded as the first Ukrainian pioneers in Canada. They came from the same village of Nebiliw, district of Kalush, province of Galicia in Western Ukraine. Wasyl Eleniak, who was born in 1859, arrived in Canada in 1891, and died at the venerable age of 97 on January 19, 1956, a distin-

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[1] Charles H. Young, **The Ukrainian Canadians,** pp. 38-40. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Limited, 1931.

* For a more detailed description of early Ukrainian immigration to the United States see W. Halich, **Ukrainians in the United States,** pp. 19-22, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937.

guished citizen of Canada whose memory will always be revered by succeeding generations of Ukrainian Canadians.[2]

The memoirs of Wasyl Eleniak, which have been recorded by the Basilian Fathers of Mundare, Alberta, reveal the typically difficult life of the pioneer settlers during the first years in Canada.[3] In describing his coming to Canada he said that there were six persons in his family in the village of Nebiliw. Their wealth consisted of three morgs (about five acres of land), one cow, a pair of oxen, and four hens. They had nothing else. In the winter they ate potatoes, cabbage, beans, peas, and corn-meal mush. Married at twenty-three, he first heard of Canada from the Germans when working amongst them. He worked at log hauling for which he was paid three "rynsky" per day in the summer and one "rynsky" per day in the winter. He finally accumulated two hundred "rynsky" through his work, by the sale of the oxen, and by obtaining a loan. In this way he was able to buy a passport and passage from Hamburg to Montreal for about 110 "rynsky". The ocean crossing took eighteen days. He found his first work in Manitoba where he earned one hundred dollars for his first year and one hundred and twenty dollars for his second year of work.

At the end of his second year he was able to return to Nebiliw for his wife and family. In Canada again he worked four years at Gretna, Manitoba. His earnings then enabled him to charter a freight car for forty dollars on which he loaded two cows, a pair of oxen, a wagon, a plough, thirty chickens, twelve bags of flour, and sundry materials. With this wealth he moved to Chipman, Alberta where his brother Peter now had a homestead. He settled near him and began to build his first home. During the day he hauled in logs on a rough wooden sled which had to be repaired each night. "How we suffered those first years," he related, "But my wife was strong, and the work went ahead."

Immediate Causes for the Immigration

The two pioneers, Eleniak and Pillipiw, who first visited Canada and then returned to their homeland to tell others about its great opportunities caused many families in Galicia to follow their footsteps. Another factor in the immediate immigration of the Ukrainians to Canada was the visit of Dr. Osyp Oleskiw which was sponsored by the Prosvita (Enlightenment)

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[2] Wasyl Eleniak, **Memoirs**, recorded by the Basilian Fathers in a personal interview. Mundare, Alberta: Sept. 21-22, 1940.

[3] **Ibid.** ,

Society of Lwiv in 1895. Such interest in Canada as a new homeland was shown by the Ukrainians in the Old Country that this organization sent Dr. Oleskiw to Canada to confirm the facts. After touring Western Canada, Dr. Oleskiw prepared two pamphlets entitled "On Emigration" and "On Free Lands" which did much to encourage the Ukrainians to come to this country.[4] Today, unfortunately, there are only a few of these pamphlets in existence, and what is available are the reprints of these articles in the Ukrainian newspapers of the day, e. g. *Svoboda,* New Jersey, New York, U.S.A.

Another source of encouragement to prospective settlers was the Government of Canada. In 1896 the new Liberal govern ment under Laurier came into power, and Clifford Sifton as Minister of the Interior ventured upon an ambitious program of immigration. Sifton did all that was possible to bring new man-power into the relatively unopened West. He advertised in Europe, established agencies throughout Galicia and Bukowina, and these agencies received commissions for every head brought into the country. The Canadian Pacific Railway was interested too, for it had already spanned the prairies. As the new settlers prospered they would require tools, machines, and this meant the use of their freight service.[5]

The prospect of land, employment, shorter hours, and higher wages, the stories of the agents, the flood of propaganda in the form of pamphlets, and the writings of Dr. Osyp Oleskiw as well as those of Father N. Dmytriw who had visited the first Ukrainian settlements, captured the imagination of the Ukrainians and the mass migration was on.

It is estimated that between 1896 and 1914, about 200,000 Ukrainians entered Canada.[6] It is difficult to establish a correct figure, for the Ukrainians came into the country under many different names. If the immigrant came from the Province of Galicia he was recorded as Galician; if from Bukowina as a Bukowinian. If that part of the territory he came from was under Poland he was registered as a Pole. Since much Ukrainian territory was under Austria the immigrants were often listed as Austrian. When he used the old Ukrainian term "Rusin" or "Rusky" he was labelled a Russian. Another term widely used to designate the Ukrainians was the word Ruthenian. The word Ruthenian is derived from the Latin "Rutheni"

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[4] Paul Yuzyk, **The Ukrainians in Manitoba,** A Social History, p. 30. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953.

[5] **Ibid.,** pp. 28-29.

[6] **Ibid.,** p. 31.

which was used by the Church of Rome in its communications with the Ukrainians.

Difficulties in Emigrating

It was not always easy for the Ukrainian to leave his homeland. The move demanded great courage, depleted available resources, and drew upon the native ingenuity of the emigrant. With the growing emigration the Austrian government became concerned for its national economy and often discouraged would-be emigrants. There are cases where the Austrian emperor was personally contacted for permission to leave the country when all other methods failed. In this regard Peter Hnatiw at the age of eighty-eight tells how he left the country.[7]

He lived in the village of Kodybysche, district of Brody, and on applying for a passport was refused by the village mayor. Having served in the army he was determined to see the Emperor Franz Joseph in Vienna and eventually was admitted into the presence of the Emperor at a place outside the city. On hearing his request the emperor replied,

"It is permissible for other people to come to my country, and for my citizens to depart for foreign lands, but shame to those mayors who do not conduct their civil affairs in such a way that my people would not find it necessary to leave their native land."[8]

The emperor then gave him a letter which allowed him free railway passage for his return home plus the twenty-five "rynsky" he had expended for his initial trip to the emperor.

The Psychology of Parting

The Ukrainians loved their homeland. Many of them left with intentions to return to their own country after they had made their fortunes in their self-imposed exile. Others felt that they were leaving for ever, for a fate comparable with death, and their departure was marked with the gloom surrounding a funeral. Instinctively they realized they would never come back, and all that was dear to them would be left behind for ever. Many of them brought little lumps of their native

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[7] Peter Hnatiw, "Rozkaz pro Sebe" (A Memoir), **Providnyk, Kalendar Kanadiyskykh Ukrayintsiw. (The Leader, an Illustrated Calendar-Almanac for Canadian Ukrainians)**, p. 31. Winnipeg: St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants Welfare Association, 1931.

[8] **Ibid.**, p. 32.

A Typical Ukrainian Settler's Home

The First Car In Minburn, Alberta

black soil tied in kerchiefs which they wept over after reaching Canada.

Some left in the spirit of high adventure, but for most it was the shearing away of all they loved most. Their partings from their loved ones often took the form of testimonials wherein they designated a stone cross, a hillock, a stream as a token of their memory.[9] As they left they felt their very roots were drawn up after them, and the hazards of transplanting loomed ominously in the unknown future.

The Pattern of Immigration

The arrival and settling down of the first Ukrainian settlers took on a pattern.[10] They arrived with almost all of their worldly wealth upon their backs and the few knotted bundles they took with them. From 1899 to 1910 inclusive, based on the number admitted it is estimated that on arrival they possessed $12.86 per capita.[11]

After docking at a Canadian port each little family or groups of families would undertake the long, tiresome journey by train to and over the western prairies. Upon their arrival at a central city they would be herded into an immigration hall where they often would spend their first night, sometimes in hunger and cold. If they found a Ukrainian voice amongst the strange people around them they wept with joy to find a little bit of their own in this strange bewildering land. Then eagerly they asked for instructions on what to do, where to go, and how they could possess their own land.

If they had relatives, former neighbors, who were already settled, they attempted to find land near them. Sometimes having no one to turn to, they followed the first Ukrainian they met and settled near him tied by bonds of race, language, and religious tradition. Often they were at the mercy of agents and government officials who directed them where they pleased and placed them on lands which others had given up as untenable. The railway lines played an important role in placing them in unopened areas with the hope that these eventually would become freight producing.

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[9] Wasyl Stefanyk, **"Kaminy Chrest" (The Stone Cross), Yuvileyny Kalendar Ukrayinskoi Rodyny (Jubilee Calendar-Almanac of the Ukrainian Family)**, Second yearbook, pp. 70-78. Mundare, Alberta: Basilian Fathers, 1941.

[10] This pattern of immigration is expressed excellently in the novel by Elias Kiriak, **Sons of the Soil,** Vol. 1, Edmonton, Alberta: Author, 1939.

[11] Report of the Immigration Commission. Wash., 1911, Vol. 1, p. 103 as found in C. H. Young, **op. cit.,** p. 44.

The fact that the Ukrainians settled in blocs is a natural phenomenon, for the gregarious instinct is the very basis of human society.

> In other words, the Ukrainians have simply done what the Scotch did before them in Cape Breton, Pictou, Glengarry, etc., the French in Quebec and Acadia, and the English in the Barr colony under the leadership of Bishop Lloyd.[12]

Young comes to the conclusion that the direction to the movement was wholly inadequate, and that to a great measure the government was itself responsible.

> There is no doubt that much of the submarginal land in eastern and northern Manitoba, for instance, should never have been opened up for settlement. That it was opened up, and this with the cognizance of the officials who were perfectly aware of the nature of the land, is unfortunately too true. The following excerpt from a report at the time of the first settlement in southern Manitoba, about 1896, gives this impression:
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> > "The quality of the land does not make so much difference to him (the Galician). For instance, the first party of Galicians sent out settled east of Emerson. The greater part of that district was settled in 1872 by some of the soldiers who went out with Lord Wolseley; but there were 6 or 7 townships of very inferior land, and the government showed the Galicians that land and they took it up."
>
> Does not this sound more like the story of an old-fashioned horse trade rather than an account of the settlement and establishment of future citizens of the Dominion.[13]

The journey to their new home sites often took days. They were forced to cross streams and muskeg, to skirt lakes and ravines. Attracted by the bush, for wood was scarce in the old country, they settled in areas where trees were plentiful. Upon arrival their first concern was shelter. Often they simply dug holes in the ground or built rude huts from the trees and branches which protected them from the elements until work on their first home could begin. Then began the clearing of land, the uprooting of stumps, and the seeding of their first little acre with the seed they had brought from the old country.

At first the tools they owned were pitiably few, perhaps a scythe, a spade, an axe, or some other crude cutting instrument which they had brought from the old country. The mother of the family had prepared beforehand and from one of her bundles she would draw forth garden seeds for the first garden. Sometimes five or six such families would begin together on their chosen sites. They visited, comforted each other, and took turns in helping one another build a first home. They became

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[12] C. H. Young, **op. cit.**, p. 77.

[13] **Ibid.**, p. 57.

tightly bound to each other in this mutual helping relationship, and although there was competition amongst themselves for the first clear acre, for the first seeding, etc., they had a deep and loyal affection for each other, for in this strange land there was no one else; they were all alone. On Sundays they would meet and reminisce, sing sad songs, church hymns, and often as not shed bitter tears over their pitable plight and the families they left at home.

With the coming of summer the father of the family left the homesite to find work. This was absolutely necessary if they were to exist at all. During the long winter they had subsisted on a few potatoes, a bit of meal or borrowed flour. They needed salt, tools, flour, perhaps a hen or two, and if fortune favoured them, a cow. The father then began the long trek for work. Today, those pioneers who are still living like to tell of their long fifty, sixty, one hundred, and two hundred mile walks. Unskilled in the fine Canadian arts, but hale, hearty, and willing, they found work on the roads, on the railways, on farms, in the mines, and in the lumber camps. Working at tiny wage levels they would remember their families in tribulation at home, deny themselves the least comfort or unnecessary good, and by summer's end would have accumulated a fortune of forty to eighty dollars.

On their return they led home a cow, a calf. If they were very fortunate, they might have had an ox, a wagon, a rude plough, and a few hens. The new settlers rejoiced in their hard earned wealth. In it they saw hope and a fresh will to master the elements about them. The garden had flourished and yielded its harvest; the acre of grain had ripened, and there would be flour and seed. The bitter memories of the first winter were shed aside as they looked to a brighter future.

Religious Faith and Customs

The most distinguishing characteristic of the Ukrainians was their deep religious faith. In the old country the village church was the centre of all their community efforts. The few dignitaries in the typical village were the priest, the mayor, the church cantor, the town scribe, and, of course, the village gendarme.

No one can understand the Ukrainian Canadians unless he understands their deep religious background. The majority of the Ukrainian settlers came from Western Ukraine which is a Catholic country. It was unthinkable for one to miss church on Sunday, and this in villages where there were as many as three to five thousand souls. Children were brought to the

church to be baptised the day they were born. Marriages were planned in the rectory and solemnized in the church only when both parties knew their catechism thoroughly. People were born, baptized, married, and buried in the same village by the same priest. It was not unusual for the same priest to preside in his parish for twenty, thirty, and even forty years. The priest was the object of their highest respect. When they met him along the way they they would bow profoundly and kiss his hand for this was the traditional custom. Mothers and grand-

Weathering The First Winter

mothers dated events from the leading Feast Days of the church year. Ivan was born two days after St. John the Baptist's Day; Maria married after St. Peter and Paul's; and Petro died the week of the "cold" St. Nicholas.

It is not surprising, then, that when the first Ukrainian immigrants came to Canada, penniless, living in holes in the ground, and with hardly their first few acres seeded with the grain they brought from their homeland, they began to build churches. They built these before there were priests to fill them.

While etching their way slowly into the Canadian soil, their greatest longing was for their own Ukrainian priest. There were baptisms to be performed, marriages to be blessed, and the early accounts of the first Ukrainian Basilian missio-

naries give testimony to the overwhelming spiritual demands of the Ukrainian settlers as they visited them from colony to colony.

So great was this longing for their own church services that they all went to their church on Sunday even though there was no priest to come to them. The Ukrainian pioneers tell of how in the early bushlands they heard what they took for church bells and rushed for miles to find the church only to discover that the sound came from flocks of wild partridges "whamming" into the air. When Bishop Budka arrived in Canada in 1912 Ukrainians massed at each railway station along the way to get a glimpse of their first Bishop and shouted in chorus, "Slava, slava! (Glory, glory!)"[14]

Often during the summer there would be so much mud and flood water about that people would walk miles carrying a child in their arms for a baptism. It often happened that a poor woman while wearing her household tatters would carry her Sunday clothes as well as her husband's, while the husband would loop a sheet around his neck and carry the child in it. Whenever it was necessary to nurse the child he would pass it on to the mother, and after the child had received nourishment he would take it back and continue carrying it over his shoulder. When they arrived at a predetermined spot they would change from their old clothes into the new, and would walk into the little church dressed in their Sunday best. Some people who were very poor and lived at a distance travelled to church by dog team just like the Indians.

One can only wonder at the hardiness of the Ukrainian pioneers. Joseph Pidskalny and Melania Sawchak walked eighteen miles cross-country in 1900 from Ethelbert, Manitoba to Sifton for their marriage ceremony. Of their eleven children, two sons are Catholic priests in the Basilian Order, and a daughter is a teaching member of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate.

On this religious background lies the whole history of the Ukrainian settlers in Canada. Without this understanding it is difficult to appreciate their religious, political, or educational struggles. Because of the initial ignorance of the Canadian government in these matters the Ukrainians suffered as a national group. They were misunderstood, sometimes mistreated and looked upon as unpreferred people. The Honorable Frank

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[14] Rev. J. Bala, **Kyr Nikita Budka (The Most Reverend Nikita Budka)**, The First Ukrainian Bishop of Canada, p. 34. Winnipeg: Centrality of the Ukrainian Catholics of Manitoba, 1952.

Oliver, who represented first Alberta, and then Edmonton, in the Canadian House of Commons from 1896 to 1917, referred to the Ukrainians as "undesirable neighbors".[15]*

Education and Social Status

The Ukrainian Canadian settler had little opportunity for schooling in the typical village of the Old Country. The fortunate child who was spared from the routine daily chores at best received three or four years of schooling in the "narodna shkola" where he learned to read and write. Not many youths could be spared from the common struggle for existence. Economic conditions (see Chapter I) discouraged the making of even a normal livelihood. For them it was a question of work or starve, and every helping hand in the family was so much added insurance. During the first decade of the life of the Ukrainian settler these same conditions carried over in their new homeland and was a vital factor in the matter of attendance in the schools. Sometimes the town scribe or the church cantor would teach the children letters. Often the village priest would take charge of an exceptional boy, teach him privately, and if possible arrange for his further education. For the rest educational opportunities were limited.

The pioneer settler took advantage of the schools which may have been within the reach of his children. If attendance was irregular it was not because of any disrespect for or misunderstanding about the values of an education. An inspector of schools at Vegreville writes:

> In the majority of cases the parent desires the best for the children because he realizes the magnitude of his own shortcomings and handicaps.[16]

At first in many cases there was no school to attend, but when these slowly began springing up in the prairies, the Ukrainian children went to them if they were not absolutely needed at home. By 1907 special attention was given to the organization

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[15] Dr. Bohdan Kazymyra, "Ukrayinski Poselentsi v Kanadi" (The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada), **Yuvileyna Knyha Ukrayintsiw Katolykiw Saskatchevanu (Jubilee Book Ukrainian Catholics of Saskatchewan)**, p. 25. Saskatoon: Ukrainian Catholic Council of Saskatchewan, 1955.

* For a further description of the interior social position of the early Ukrainian Canadians see T. C. Byrne, **The Ukrainian Community in North Central Alberta,** pp. 1-3. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Alberta, 1937.

[16] Report of inspector at Vegreville. As quoted in C. H. Young, **op. cit.**, p. 201.

of schools for Ukrainian children in Alberta.[17] By 1912 about ninety schools had been organized for Ukrainian districts in Alberta.[18] By 1914 there were about one hundred and thirty.[19] When attendance varied at these schools, it was because the pioneer mother was forced to stand by the side of her husband and do the hard physical work of a man. It was usually the oldest girl who took charge of the household duties and the tiny children; the oldest boy who did the farm chores while his parents opened up the land.

Although it is estimated that about fifty per cent of the Ukrainian settlers were illiterate it was noted that:

> Ruthenian children are as a rule bright and intelligent, and even with the handicap of acquiring a new lenguage, they keep abreast with the children of English-speaking parents. The use of the English language is becoming prevalent throughout the colony among adults and children alike.[20]

In Manitoba the first Ukrainian school was opened in the Stuartburn area in 1898. Others followed in 1899, 1900, and 1901. In 1903 the Department of Education engaged Theodore Stefanik and in 1910 Paul Gigeychuk to organize schools for the Ukrainians.[21]

What opposition the Ukrainians had for the English schools was a continued perseverance in the struggle for their national identity which they had struggled for in the Old Country.

> In the early period the Ukrainians themselves were in many instances opposed to English schools and English teachers, on the ground that these were instruments of assimilation employed to wipe out their nationality and culture. Mistakenly, they considered the situation analagous to the one in Galicia, where the ascendant Poles forced Polish schools on the Ukrainians and denied the Ukrainian people a separate existence.[22]

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[17] C. H. Young, **op. cit.**, p. 191.

[18] R. Fletcher, "Education in Foreign Settlements," **Seventh Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Province of Alberta, 1912,** p. 68. Edmonton: J. W. Jeffery, Government Printer, 1913.

[19] R. Fletcher, "Education in Foreign Settlements," **Ninth Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Province of Alberta. 1914,** p. 67. Edmonton: J. W. Jeffery, Government Printer, 1915.

[20] R. Fletcher, "Education in Foreign Settlements", **Tenth Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Province of Alberta, 1915,** p. 81. Edmonton: J. W. Jeffery, Government Printer, 1916.

[21] Paul Yuzyk, **op. cit.,** pp. 144-145.

[22] **Ibid.**, p. 145.

Conclusion

The above is a brief resume of the story of the first Ukrainian settlers. True "sons of the soil," "they have been sending their roots deeper and deeper into that soil until now they are ineradicable."[23] In discussing the book of the same name by Elias Kiriak, Prof. C. H. Andrusyshen of the University of Saskatchewan says,

> It is a rare psychological and sociological study of a people who battle against terrible odds and finally emerge victorious. In this story the Ukrainian element may be said to be representative of all the immigrant groups that came to Canada about the same time. It is a genuinely Canadian epic because what it contains is part of Canadian history, that history which is not written with letters of blood on the fields of battle where man struggles for the sustenance of God's creatures and where the only thing tamed and laid low is the rigidity of nature and its laws. There too are heroes; but they are the unsung ones. the unproclaimed ones, whose only monument is the memory of them and their superhuman labor that remains in the minds of grateful and respectful generations that follow.[24]

First Monastery And Chapel Of The Basilian Fathers Who Settled At Beaver Lake (Near Mundare), 1902.

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[23] Quoted in a letter of M. Luchkovich of Edmonton, Alberta, to the Editor of **Svoboda**, New Jersey, N. Y., published on March 17, 1956.

[24] **Ibid.**

CHAPTER III

THE UKRAINIAN MISSIONARIES AND SISTERS

Introduction

It is estimated that by 1900 there were 60,000 Ukrainians settled in Western Canada.[1] One must realize that the vast majority of the Ukrainian settlers were Catholics but of the Eastern rite as distinguished from their brothers in faith, the Catholics of the more familiar Latin rite. In the Catholic Church there are many rites. These differences in rite are usually expressed by a variety of liturgical languages, externally different forms in vestments, ceremonies. church architecture, etc. All these rites are subject to the same spiritual head, the Pope in Rome, and hold to exactly the same tenets of faith and dogma. The teaching of the Church through the centuries has always expressed itself through a variety in rite but unity in faith.

Spiritually and educationally neglected, the Ukrainians became the serious concern of the French Canadian hierarchy, who did all in their power to obtain Ukrainian priests and teaching Sisters for the new settlers. With this in mind, Archbishop Adelard Langevin of St. Boniface made his "ad limina" visit to Rome in 1896.[2] He was advised to press the matter with the Ukrainian Cardinal Sembratovich in Lwiw, Western Ukraine. When this bore little fruit he sent his two suffragan bishops, Monsignor Pascal of Prince Albert and Monsignor Legal of St. Albert to Europe on October 30, 1898.[3] In 1900 Archbishop Langevin sent Father Albert Lacombe, the great Can-

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[1] Archbishop Langevin, **Memoire to the Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria,** St. Boniface, July 2, 1904. St. Boniface Archives.

[2] Dr. Bohdan Kazymyra, **Monsignor Adelard Langevin and the Ukrainian Canadians,** p. 15, Library of Catholic Action, No. 7, Edmonton, Alberta, 1952.

[3] Rev. Josaphat Jean, O. S. B. M., and Dr. Bohdan Kazymyra, **Piadesiat Rokiw v Kanadi, (Fifty Years in Canada),** p. 3, Library of Catholic Action, No. 12, Edmonton, Alberta, 1952.

adian missionary, as his personal representative to Rome, Lwiw, and Vienna where the matter of Ukrainian missionaries was urgently pressed.[4]

Before the arrival of the first Basilian missionaries and Ukrainian Sisters in 1902, due in great part to the efforts of Archbishop Langevin, five Ukrainian priests visited the Ukrainian settlers on separate occasions.[5] These were the visits of Father N. Dmytriw who visited the Ukrainian people at Edna and Limestone Lake, Alberta in 1897 from Jersey City, U.S.A. Rev. Paul Tymkewich visited these people on April 8, 1897 to November 5, 1897. Father Damascene Polywka, O.S.B.M., came to Winnipeg on October 21, 1899 where he organized the first parish before leaving for the United States. In 1900 Rev. M. Zaklynsky made a short visit to the Ukrainians in Edmonton, and then he too went to the United States. A fifth visiting priest was Father Basil Zoldak of Western Ukraine who inquired into the needs of the Ukrainians of Manitoba and the West and then returned to the Ukraine in May, 1902, to make his report to Metropolitan Sheptytsky.[6] Father Zoldak visited Canada once again from November, 1902, until December, 1904.

An interesting letter of the times is that of one of the Ukrainian immigrants who in 1899 wrote to the Basilian Fathers' monastery at Zolkwa, Western Ukraine, describing the plight of the Ukrainian children who were without schools and educational opportunities in the sparsely settled West.

> Worst of all the small children will fall into delinquency for they will not attain any learning in their catechism. There are even those who having been born in Canada will not know anything about the church or education, and they will not wish to obey their fathers or mothers if they will not have any church teaching. (Translated from the Ukrainian).[7]

The Arrival of the Basilian Fathers and the Sisters Servants

Largely through the intercession of Archbishop Adelard Langevin the first Basilian missionaries to arrive in Canada were the Rev. Platinid Filas, O.S.B.M., Rev. Sozont Dydyk, O.S.B.M., and Rev. Anthony Strotsky, O.S,B,M., who arrived

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[4] Dr. Bohdan Kazymyra, **op. cit.,** p. 16.

[5] Neil Savaryn, O. S. B. M., **Rolia Otsiv Vasilian v Kanadi (The Role of the Basilian Fathers in Canada),** pp. 13-14, Educational Letters, No. 6, Mundare, Alberta: Basilian Fathers, 1938.

[6] Dr. Bohdan Kazymyra, **op. cit.,** p. 16.

[7] Letter of I. Pyskor of Winnipeg, to the Basilian Fathers' Monastery in Zolkwa, Western Ukraine, as quoted in Neil Savaryn, O. S. B. M., **op. cit.,** pp. 12-13.

in Edmonton on November 1, 1902.[8] They were accompanied by a lay brother. With these four Basilian missionaries came four teaching Sisters of the Congregation of Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate. These were Sisters Ambrosia Lenkewich, Isidora Shypowska, Emilia Klapoyshuk, and Taida Wroblewska.[9] After their arrival at Strathcona (South Edmonton) this small pioneering group was welcomed by the Oblate Fathers of St. Joachim's Parish in Edmonton. Until permanent accommodation could be arranged, they were made welcome to the temporary hospitality of the Oblate Fathers and the Sisters, Faithful Companions of Jesus, at 9906—110th Street, Edmonton, Alberta.

The Ukrainian Girls' Night School

When the Basilian Fathers and the Sisters arrived, they found a Ukrainian Girls' Night School already organized by the Oblate Fathers and conducted by the Sisters, Faithful Companions of Jesus. These girls of the Night School prepared a little program and reception to welcome the new Ukrainian priests and Sisters. The reception is briefly described in the Journals of Father Dydyk dated November 5, 1902 and in the Journal of Bishop Legal who also made an entry regarding this event on the same date.

There were at that time forty Ukrainian working girls attending this Night School at the old St. Mary's High School (now demolished) on 103rd Street in Edmonton. It was organized by Rev. Father Alphonse Jan, O.M.I., who went from home to home asking the guardians of these girls to permit them to attend the night classes conducted by the Faithful Companions of Jesus. The beginnings of this school are carefully recorded in the Journal of Bishop Legal, January 30, 1901.[10]

After Mass on that day Bishop Legal asked the Sister Superior of the Faithful Companons of Jesus whether she would agree to conduct a night school for the Galician girls. The Sisters agreed immediately and suggested that they were willing to begin that very week if a suitable number of girls could be found. Father Jan then began his campaign to find as many girls as possible who could be aided by this schooling.

Mrs. Carl Chichloski of Edmonton best describes what this

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[8] Neil Savaryn, O. S. B. M., **op. cit.,** pp. 17-18.

[9] **Ibid.,** p. 33.

[10] Extract from the Journal of Monsignor Legal, January 30, 1901. Archives of the Rev. Father Provincial of the Oblate Fathers in Edmonton, Alberta.

school was like.[11] Classes were held twice a week on the third floor of the old St. Mary's High School, with sessions lasting from eight p. m. to nine-thirty p. m. The girls were taught English, Reading, and Writing. When they sang for the little reception given to the pioneer Fathers and Sisters they sang in Ukrainian. The girls, at first ten in number, ranged in ages from thirteen to eighteen. This number soon grew to twenty, and on occasion thirty and even forty girls attended this night school.

Bishop Legal's Journal reads:

> Wednesday, I am going to Edmonton where I find the Basilians and the Servants of Mary whom I intend to visit. They are well quartered in the little sacristy (of St. Joachim's Church) and they seem to be satisfied. In the evening we are all going to the school for the Galicians. There are going to be songs, speeches, and a small reception... All these virtuous people seem to be happy for they see the priests and Sisters of their rite and nationality. Father Filas is moved by the song of a young Galician girl... (Translated from the French).[12]

An interesting memento of this school is found in the Church of St. Joachim in Edmonton. As one enters the church proper the second window is of stained glass depicting St. Basil in mitre and vestments of the Eastern rite. From their meagre resources these young and grateful Ukrainian girls showed their gratitude for their first opportunity for schooling in their new homeland by raising enough money to purchase this stained glass window. Beneath the colored picture is the inscription: "Presented by Galician Night School Girls."

The Basilian Fathers' School at Beaver Lake (Mundare) [13]

The four Sisters of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate who arrived in Edmonton on November 1, 1902 lodged over the sacristy of St. Joachim's Church for eight months. They spent most of this time in acquiring the English language under the supervision of the Faithful Companions of Jesus. At the same time they began to teach the Ukrainian youth of the city—Ukrainian, church music, folk songs, religion, and handicrafts. On May 23, 1903, Sister Taida, a teacher of music, died.

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[11] Interview between the writer and Mrs. Carl Chichloski of Edmonton, Alberta, who attended the Ukrainian Girls' Night School, 1901, at Edmonton, December 3, 1957.

[12] Extract from the Journal of Monsignor Legal, November 5, 1902.

[13] Sister Elizabeth, S. S. M. I., "Forty Years in God's Service," **Yuvileyna Knyha Sester Sluzebnyts 1892-1942, (Jubilee Book of the Sisters Servants 1892-1942),** pp. 77-82, Edmonton, Alberta: Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, 1942.

The Basilian Fathers' School For Ukrainian Children At Beaver Lake (Near Mundare), Alberta, 1913

On July 12, 1903, the Basilian Fathers and the Ukrainian Sisters moved to Beaver Lake (three miles east of Mundare, Alberta) where Father Filas had already built a small home. By 1904 a chapel was built which served, in 1905, as a school room for the Ukrainian school children.

This was a daily school attended by the children of the locality and of outlying districts. Since the chapel served as a classroom there was a movable screen which served to cover the altar during class time. Soon there were sixty children attending this school, thirty of whom lived and boarded at the Sisters' home. Only cramped quarters forbade them taking in more children from the more distant Ukrainian colonies. Conditions remained such until 1911.

By 1910 Father N. Kryzanowsky, who had arrived from Western Ukraine October 28, 1903, was appointed to the monastery at Beaver Lake. Seeing the difficulties under which the school was conducted he gave up his own living quarters to provide for more classroom space. One of Father Kryzanowsky's first dreams was to build a larger and more suitable school for the Ukrainian children at Beaver Lake. The new school was a two story building built at a cost of $12,000.00 and completed in 1913. The building of this school began on July 15, 1913.[14] On August 3, 1913, the cornerstone for this new school building was officially laid and blessed. Father Kryzanowsky described this event in his Journal in an entry on that date.[15]

> On that day a jubilee procession was announced (in the Mundare church). Because the Bishop (N. Budka) arrived unexpectedly the ceremony of the laying of the cornerstone followed. There was a great deal of trouble over this cornerstone because it had not arrived in time from Edmonton. After the service the procession began from the church (to Beaver Lake — three miles east of Mundare). The procession was a wonderful sight, not only because of the great number of standards and religious pennants (carried). but especially because of the great mass of people which caused the procession to stretch out for at least a mile and a half. It was truly a wonderful sight... On arriving at the site the Bishop placed the cornerstone and blessed it. (Translated from the Ukrainian).

As an afterthought the chronicler writes, "It should be mentioned that His Excellency (N. Budka) helped with the work of the building's foundations."

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[14] Chronicles of the Basilian Fathers, Vol. 2, p. 11, Mundare, Alberta: July 15, 1913.

[15] **Ibid.,** Vol. 2, pp. 11-12, August 3, 1913.

The formal blessing of this school took place on August 19, 1914.[16]

> At half-past four there was a prayer service and benediction in the chapel followed by the "vodoswiatia" (blessing of the water) and the blessing of the school. After the blessing the children gave a beautiful concert and play which was creditably done. All this lasted until nine o'clock that night. (Translated from the Ukrainian).

Teaching Under Difficult Conditions

A letter from Sister Liubow, one of the first sisters teaching at the new school throws light upon the difficult circumstances under which they worked.

> When we began that school, there were seven sisters, two of whom were sick. The five of us worked like black oxen. Two taught the children, slept, and ate with them. After four we went with them to wash clothes and to carry water (one quarter of a mile) from near the tracks because there was only enough water near the home for kitchen use and washing. There were 111 children, in addition to those who came in from the farms. But God gave us strength and energy and with that, exceeding happiness. For all that, these children felt happy amongst us, even though there were no luxuries or entertainment. When they tired, we would sing with

[16] **Ibid.,** Vol. 2, pp. 24-25, August 19, 1914.

them and returned to our studies, our work and our prayers. In this way the time went, day after day. (Translated from the Ukrainian).[17]

A correspondent for the Edmonton Journal makes an interesting comment in the columns of the Edmonton Journal in regard to this school.

> Situated some miles east of the town of Mundare in a spot of more than special beauty lies the quaint little Ruthenian monastery founded by Rev. Father Filas in 1902. Your correspondent found pleasure recently in visiting the institution and learning at first hand the nature of the work being done there. One could easily see that the good Sisters who look after the school garden were adept in setting forth pleasing effects in the arrangement of flowers.
>
> On approaching the convent everywhere the eye was charmed and delighted on beholding the rows of beautiful flowers of varied hues so blended as to bring out the best possible effects. The work of the Sisterhood is to impart to the 70 or more Ruthenian youths who attend a sound moral education. The teaching staff is made up of fully qualified Sisters under the school laws of Alberta, and during the past scholastic year work up to Grade 8 has been done by Sister Eugenia, a teacher of more than average excellence and a charming conversationalist, even in the English tongue, who is, under the Superioress, in charge of the teaching arrangements. Your correspondent was greatly struck with the neat and orderly arrangements of the classrooms and the homelike atmosphere found there. Special attention is given to physical education, after the maxim "A sound mind in a sound body."
>
> In a separate building apart from the convent we met the spiritual adviser and had an hour's pleasant interview with him. The monastery, including the convent, is really under Father Kryzanowsky's charge. In addition, he and his assistants have to minister to the large Ruthenian Greek Catholic Mission extending even to Vermilion and Bruderheim, and embracing 8,000 souls. In all they have charge in their missionary district of 20 churches.[18]

By 1926 when the Sisters built the new St. Joseph's School and Orphanage in Mundare, Alberta, this early 1913 building was torn down and its materials were used in the construction of the later building. The chronicles of the Sisters Servants say that, "Soon the Sisters were teaching in three schools locally, six of them qualified teachers."[19] A high school for girls was begun in this later building at Mundare, but by 1938 it became a novitiate for the training of new Sisters in the religious, educational, social, and health fields.

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[17] Letter of Sister Liubow, S. S. M. I., of Calgary, Alberta, to Sister Superior, St. Joseph's Convent, Mundare, Alberta, dated December 2, 1957.

[18] News Item, "Ruthenian Monastery — Good Work Done Near Mundare", **Edmonton Journal**, August 20, 1921.

[19] Sister Elizabeth, S. S. M. I., **op. cit.**, p. 81.

The Basilan Fathers and the Teacher Training School

The great numbers of Ukrainian chidren who went to the Sisters' School at Beaver Lake, and the great numbers who were turned away because of the limited facilities became the serious concern of the Basilian Fathers. In many instances Ukrainian parents sent their children there although there was a neighboring public school in their own localities, and this fact proved a source of friction in some of the local and neighboring school boards. The parents preferred to have their children taught when possible by Ukrainian teachers, and in the Ukrainian pioneering times there may have been reason enough for encouraging this. Much was written in the Ukrainian press of the time and more spoken on public platforms where Ukrainian youth were urged to continue their studies and eventually take up careers in the teaching field to supplement the need for more qualified Ukrainian teachers in the Ukrainian districts.

Because of the language handicap the Basilian Fathers visualized a teacher training school where potential teachers could be trained in special schools. The students would receive not only the necessary pedagogical training but an intensive and specialized course in English which would enable them to do the most good for the Ukrainian children. In this way the Ukrainian children would be kept in a teacher atmosphere which did not harshly contradict the cultural background to which they were accustomed at home. In this regard the Fathers contacted the highest government officials who were very favorable to the project. Father Kryzanowsky recorded their efforts in the monastery's daily Journal.

On May 12, 1910, Father Kryzanowsky writes:

> I went to Edmonton. With Father Hura and Father Dydyk. I saw Minister Lessard and Premier Rutherford who promised to open a Ukrainian seminary (teacher training school)...[20]
>
> July 20, 1910. With Father Hura I saw Premier Sifton on the matter of a school organizer for the Ukrainian school for Ukrainian teachers. The Premier was very sympathetic, and promised to do all that was possible at the next session of Parliament.[21]
>
> August 24, 1911. I saw Premier Sifton of Alberta who promised to open a school where children could train for teachers as soon as he could find a Ukrainian qualified teacher who could direct such a school.[22]

In spite of the good intentions of the Alberta Government,

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[20] Chronicles of the Basilian Fathers, Vol. 1, p. 118. Mundare, Alberta: May 12, 1910.

[21] **Ibid.**, Vol. 1, p. 127. July 20, 1910.

[22] **Ibid.**, Vol. 1, p. 164. August 24, 1911.

very little came of these hopes. But from 1913 to 1916, a School for Foreigners was established at Vegreville which attempted to prepare Ukrainian students at least for the world outside them if not specifically for teaching careers.[23]

The Sisters' School in Edmonton[24]

In 1905 two Sisters from Mundare took up residence near the first St. Josaphat's Church on 97th Street and 108th Ave. in Edmonton. This early church had been completed in 1904. The Sisters lived in a small home prepared for them by the Basilian Fathers. Again under the most trying conditions, the Sisters began their work with the school children.

The same table was used for an altar in the morning, a dinner table at meal time, and as a classroom table for the students. It was not until 1906 that a Toronto priest donated $120.00 towards the buying of a number of suitable school desks for the children. By this time a small one-room building had been purchased which was used exclusively as a classroom. This small school was placed on one of thirty-eight newly acquired lots selected by Bishop Legal and Father Filas. The cost of these lots was $2200.00. Bishop Legal paid for nineteen of them, and they became the site of the present Immaculate Conception Church and the present Sacred Heart School building. The other nineteen were bought by the Basilian Fathers and became the site of the present St. Josaphat's Convent and School, rectory, and church grounds.[25]

The school work of the Sisters was aided by the charitable services of the people who did all that was possible to aid the Sisters in establishing themselves. By 1910 the school had become so overcrowded that it was found necessary to expand. Bishop Legal received $15,000.00 from a Catholic Organization in Toronto, and this was used to build a brick school and home for the Sisters. It was blessed by Metropolitan Andrew Shep-

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[23] W. A. Stickle, "School for Foreigners," **Eighth Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Province of Alberta,** 1913, pp. 49-51. Edmonton: J. W. Jeffery, Government Printer, 1914.

[24] Sister Elizabeth, S. S. M. I., **op. cit.,** pp. 84-86.

[25] Journal of Monsignor Legal, November 30, 1902, December 6, 1902, December 16, 1902, December 17, 1902, March 5, 1904; Chronicles of the Basilian Fathers (Fr. P. Filas), Mundare, Alberta, February 22, 1904; Letter of Father Leduc, O. M. I. of St. Albert to Father S. Dydyk, O. S. B. M., December 8, 1908; Certification of Title, April 21, 1909, 178 and Registration at Land Titles Office, Edmonton, Alberta, April 21, 1909, No. 7822, Book BB, Folio 246.

tytsky. In 1920 additional classrooms were added at a value of $18.000.00. Four classrooms in this building are included as a part of the present Sacred Heart School which has an average annual enrolment of about 130 Ukrainian children.

The Schools in Sifton and Yorkton[26]

The Sisters first arrived in Sifton, Manitoba, on November 30, 1910, where the Sisters conducted classes in the basement of the church until about 1914. In 1912 Rev. Josaphat Jean founded a missionary school for young men in Sifton which was later under the direction of Father Sabourin. The Sisters used the facilities of this building to some extent. In 1921, a home and school were built for the Sisters at a cost of $30,000.00 and this building was also blessed by Metropolitan Sheptytsky. After adverse circumstances in 1924, the Sisters left Sifton but returned in 1935 to begin their work anew.

In Yorkton, Saskatchewan, land was bought in 1915 by Bishop N. Budka for a new school. On a loan of $25,000.00, the Sacred Heart Academy was erected and completed in 1916 and placed under the administration of Father Delaere. During the first years only eight grades were taught, and it accommodated eighty girls. Since 1932, it has been a high school for girls, and in 1957, the Sisters began to build a new and modern high school for girls which was completed in 1958.

St. Nicholas School in Winnipeg[27]

On June 16, 1905, Sisters Athanasia and Alexia arrived in Winnipeg where a small Ukrainian school had already been established by Father M. Hura, O.S.B.M., and taught by a secular teacher. The Sisters immediately began teaching catechism, church music, reading, and writing during the vacation.

On August 28, 1905, the Sisters began a daily school in a small building on Selkirk and MacGregor which had a stage and gallery and served as a community hall locally. This was a rather dilapidated building with doors which could not be locked and which was frequently broken into at night by vandals. During the first year fifty children attended this school, and the children gave plays and concerts on its stage.

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[26] Sister Elizabeth, S. S. M. I., **op. cit.,** pp. 89-93.

[27] The material for this section has been found in:

a) Sister Elizabeth, S. S. M. I., **op. cit.,** pp. 86-89.

b) Sister Athanasia, S. S .M. I., "Shkola Sw. o. Nykolaya" (St. Nicholas School), **Yuvileyny Almanakh Shkoly Sw. o. Nykolaya, 1911-1936 (Jubilee Almanac of St. Nicholas School in Winnipeg, 1911-1936),** pp. 11-18. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, 1937.

In the winter of 1905, the Sisters moved their school into the basement of St. Nicholas Church where they were bothered

St. Nicholas School, Winnipeg, 1911

by the hazards of mud, water, and gloom. At this time they taught in three languages: Ukrainian, Polish, and English. In order to become more familiar with the Canadian System of

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Article, "Yuviley 25-litnoi Pratsi Shkoly Sw. o. Nykolaya" (Jubilee of the 25th Year of the Work of St. Nicholas School), **Ibid.**, pp. 37-41.

c) Article, "Shkola Sw. o. Nykolaya" (St. Nicholas School), **Ilustrovany Kalendar-Almanakh Ukrayinskykh Vistey, (Illustrated Calendar-Almanac of the Ukrainian News)**, pp. 66-70. Edmonton, Alberta: 1935.

d) Rev. Stephen Semchuk, "Zhromadzenia Sester Sluzebnyts" (Congregation of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate), **Propamyatna Knyha, (The Commemorative Book of the Settlement of the Ukrainian People in Canada, 1891-1941)**, pp. 73-76. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Episcopal Ordinariate (Ukrainian Catholic Church), 1941.

e) Interviews with Sister Athanasia, S. S. M. I., the first teacher of St. Nicholas School, Winnipeg, and associated with the writer in parish work at St. Josaphat's Cathedral, Edmonton, Alberta, from 1947 to 1958.

teaching, they often paid visits to the classrooms of other Sisters teaching in Winnipeg, and did all they could to improve their knowledge of English. By 1906, there were 160 children attending this basement school. They were often visited here by Archbishop Langevin who greatly enjoyed their Ukrainian songs and often attended their little concerts and plays. One of these concerts was given in honor of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky on September 27, 1910.

First Day At St. Nicholas School

When the difficulties of teaching in this basement school became acute the Sisters presented their problem to Archbishop Langevin and to Father Cherrier. The year 1911 was a particularly rainy year and often enough the classroom floor was covered with water. By July 18, 1911, Father S. Dydyk, O.S.B.M., after a visit to Archbishop Langevin, came home with plans for a new school. In the summer of 1911, construction began on the new St. Nicholas School which was built at a cost of $25,000.00 from the personal funds of Archbishop Langevin. This was a brick building two stories high and measuring fifty feet by sixty feet. Father Cherrier gave a personal gift of $2,000.00 for school furnishings. When this building was opened to the children on October 24, 1911, there were five classrooms, a chapel, a recreation room, and living quarters for the Sisters.

It was formally blessed on October 22, 1911 by Father Fillipiw, O. S. B. M.

At the end of June, 1912, the children gave their first concert in the school auditorium in the presence of Archbishop Langevin and Bishop Budka. At this concert, Archbishop Langevin gave the school to the Sisters. On this occasion, Archbishop Langevin said,

> I, Sisters, have visited you for a long time, taken care of you, and now I shall cease, for you now have your own Father, your own Bishop, who shall care for you better than I. At my leaving I wish to leave you with a little present, and this present for you is this school. It is yours. You owe me nothing. As a reward, however, I desire that each Christmas, for as long as I live, you bring me a Ukrainian Christmas-cake.[28]

In 1912, there were about 200 children attending this school. In 1914, there were 250 children and soon this grew to 400 children and only six teaching Sisters. In 1920, when the number of children went over 400, the Inspector of Health decreed that some of these children must be sent away.

The cost of running this school became a severe burden to the Sisters. Their taxes for each school year averaged from between $500.00 to $900.00. Each child was assessed a fee of 10 cents a month, but for example, in 1933, when there were 160 children at the school and five teaching Sisters, all that was collected from the children for one given month amounted to $18.00. The Basilian Fathers heated the school at their expense, and the Sisters tried to make ends meet by sewing church vestments, presenting concerts, and organizing bazaars. By 1936, eight of the fourteen Sisters at this school were qualified teachers. In addition to the regular course of studies required by the Manitoba Department of Education, the Sisters taught the Ukrainian language, Ukrainian History, religion, prepared concerts, drills, exposition, and handicrafts. The school is still part of the Winnipeg school system today.

Conclusion

An effort has been made to indicate the role of the Ukrainian missionaries and Sisters in the formal educational development of the Ukrainian children in Western Canada in the time which was still a pioneering period for the Ukrainians. In particular, reference was made to the early beginnings in Edmonton, Mundare (Beaver Lake), and Winnipeg.

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[28] Sister Athanasia, S. S. M. I., **op. cit.**, pp. 17-18.

The Sisters continued to expand and build their schools in nearly every province of Canada. They now have large and beautiful modern schools accommodating hundreds of students and covering a complete and diversified program of High School studies for young women at Yorkton, Saskatchewan; Ancaster,, Ontario; and Sloatsburg, N. Y., U. S. A. In 1954, in Canada alone, they had forty-five teaching Sisters teaching a total 2,369 children.

Their Jubilee Memoir, a souvenir book, indicating fifty years of progress, shows that in 1952 they numbered 255 Sisters. They taught 24 day schools, 30 evening schools, 5 kindergartens, and conducted 4 hostels for girls. This was in addition to their hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged, and missions which they had under their supervision. For the fifty years following 1902, the statistical figures for the numbers of children who were instructed by the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate are as follows:[29]

In day schools	85,623
In evening schools	63,304
In vacation schools	287,068
In Sunday catechism classes	115,840
In First Holy Communion classes	197,743

The first four Sisters who arrived in Edmonton, November 1, 1902, and began their humble work amongst the Ukrainian children in Western Canada have truly left a praiseworthy record in educational achievement.

Sisters Servants' School, Edmonton, 1920

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[29] Summary "In Fifty Years", **Jubilee Memoirs 1902-1952,** Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of Christ the King Province of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, p. 150. Toronto: Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, 1952.

CHAPTER IV

THE FRENCH CANADIAN MISSIONARIES AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO UKRAINIAN EDUCATION

Introduction

Archbishop Adelard Langevin was deeply disturbed by the spiritual neglect of the Ukrainian settlers, predominantly Catholics. A monk from Mount Athos, Seraphim, made himself spiritual leader of the Ukrainians and by 1903 he began "ordaining" scores of "priests" to provide for the "spiritual" needs of the people.[1] With few exceptions these men, unskilled laborers, many of them illiterate, took up their sham duties, and confussion reigned supreme. Heresy and schism claimed their toll. Some of these priests who had some schooling eventually broke away from Seraphim to form independent churches; others joined forces with either the Presbyterian or Anglican missions.

Latin Rite Priests Enter Upon the Ukrainian Mission

In 1898 Archbishop Langevin visited the Redemptorist Fathers in Belgium and asked these Belgian priests of the Latin rite to undertake the mission for the Ukrainians in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.[2] Father Achille Delaere, C. S. S. R., was the first to respond, arriving in Canada on October 2, 1899, to begin his work in Yorkton, Saskatchewan. By 1907 three other Belgian priests followed him: Fathers Henrich Boels, Noel Mary Descamps, and Charles Tescher. These Latin rite priests mastered the Ukrainian language and the Ukrainian liturgical rite. They then threw themselves heart and soul into the work for the Ukrainian people.

In the meantime Archbishop Langevin continued his fight to obtain Ukrainian priests for the Ukrainians. When his ef-

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[1] P. Bozyk, **Tserkov Ukrayintsiv v Kanadi (The Church of the Ukrainians in Canada)**, pp. 25-55. Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian, 1927.

[2] **Ibid.**, pp. 13-14.

forts failed in Europe he encouraged young French Canadian students-in-training as well as ordained priests in Quebec to give up their priestly lives in service for the Ukrainians. The example of Father Delaere and his co-workers, as well as his memorial written on the advance of heresy and schism amongst the Ukrainians stirred many young French Canadian youths to undertake the Ukrainian mission.[3] Young priests like Fathers Joseph Jean, who later entered the Basilian Order, Joseph Gagnon, Arthur Desmarais, Adonais Sabourin and Desire Claveloux left Canada for the Ukraine where they acquired a knowledge of the Ukrainian language and rite, and on their return took up work amongst the Ukrainians, especially in Manitoba. One of their first undertakings was to establish a school for the Ukrainians at Sifton.

When Archbishop Langevin approached Metropolitan Sheptytsky on his visit to Canada in 1910 for Ukrainian priests the Metropolitan replied negatively, but encouraged Archbishop Langevin to send his own young priests for this work if such volunteers could be found. The Metropolitan replied,

> The number of priests whom I can send to Canada is minimal. Your Excellency would do a great deed for the Ukrainain Canadians so greatly beset by schism and heresy if you found priests for them who would understand them and accept their rite. I would like to say before-hand that these will meet with great difficulties, and our people will be even suspicious of them for in the beginnings they shall not understand this manner of sacrifice.[4]

The striving for the improvement of the position of the Ukrainian settlers in Canada, both spiritually and educationally, was indeed heroic. Archbishop Langevin wrote, travelled, pleaded, and gave all possible monetary help in the building of Ukrainian schools and seminaries. He encouraged young men to give their lives for the Ukrainian cause — one among them was Father Josaphat Jean, O. S. B. M., who today at 79 has spent a continuous fifty years in service for the Ukrainians.

Efforts Towards the Establishing of Schools

In Manitoba, the conditions for establishing a school for the Ukrainians were particularly favorable because bilingualism was permitted in the school system until as late as March

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[3] Rev. J. Jean, O. S. B. M., **Moye Sluzinia Ukraini (For the Ukrainian Cause)**, p. 4. Library of Catholic Action, No. 15. Edmonton, Alberta, 1953.

[4] Rev. J. Jean, O. S. B. M., Dr. B. Kazymyra, **Vylyky Metropolit (The Great Metropolitan)**, p. 4. Library of Catholic Action, No. 17, Edmonton, Alberta, 1954.

8, 1916, when legislation finally abolished it.[5] The French clergy realized that in the first years the Ukrainian settlers and their children would have great difficulty in adapting themselves to the conditions of their new homeland. They knew little or no English at all, knew nothing of the customs, the history, or the traditions of the country, and any attempts to anglicize them were treated with resentment, suspicion, and as a threat to their racial identity which they had struggled to preserve under the greatest of difficulties in the Old Country. They felt that particularly in the beginnings, any such schools should be staffed by Ukrainian teachers who were bilingual because this would make the initial shock of adjustment a much milder one.

While there was a limited number of qualified University men from the Ukraine, these were clergymen or laymen who held editorial or administrative positions in various Ukrainian organizations. The early problem of finding Ukrainian teachers who were qualified to give English instruction to the Ukrainian children was a formidable one. The Ukrainians themselves were very anxious to have their children learn English. Father Lacombe, the great Canadian missionary, as a delegate of Archbishop Langevin in Europe, brought up the matter in a memorandum to Cardinal Ledochowski. He hoped to obtain the services of the Franciscan Sisters of Mary in establishing schools amongst the Ukrainians. In 1900, he wrote:

> Permettez-moi de Vous soumettre un plan que nous avons en vue... pour établir une grasde école de cette nationalité à Winnipeg... Mère Générale me parle de l'accompagner en ce pays, pour y plaider notre cause suprès du Gouvernment et des Eveques de Galicie. Tout en recrutant des sujets pour nos écoles galiciennes, nous avons l'espérance d'obtenir quelques secours pecuniaires... Si quelques laiques, de bonne volonté, voulaient nous accompagner en Amérique, nous les répandrions, comme Maitree et Maitresses d'Ecoles dans nos colonies.[6]

The Memorandum and Memoir of Archbishop Langevin

Since the Ukrainians were formerly subjects of Austria, Archbishop Langevin wrote a letter and memorandum to the

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[5] Julian Stechishin, **Yuvileyna Knyha, 25-Litia Institutu im. Petra Mohyly v Saskatuni (Jubilee Book, Twenty Five Years of the P. Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon, 1916-1941).** p. 42. Winnipeg: P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute, 1945.

[6] Extract from the Memorandum of Father Albert Lacombe, Delegate in Europe of Archbishop Langevin, to Cardinal Ledochowski in Rome. Rome: June 1, 1900. St. Boniface Archives.

Austrian Minister of External Affairs, Goluchowski, whereby he hoped to obtain help for the Ukrainians from the Austrian government.[7] Attached to this letter was a memorandum in which he expresses the Ukrainian situation. Entitled, "Les Galiciens au Manitoba dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest Canadien", it consisted of five articles dealing with the following subject matter:

1. The Number of Ukrainians,
2. The Rites,
3. The Priests,
4. Financial Assistance, and
5. The Schools.

Under this last heading he wrote that it was necessary to establish a school immediately for nearly a hundred Ukrainian pupils at Winnipeg. In addition to the school, he hoped to found several scholarships for deserving students attending St. Boniface College under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers. He admitted that he foresaw the difficulty of finding competent teachers who knew the Ukrainian language as well as possessing a satisfactory knowledge of English. In expressing these plans, he hoped for assistance from the Austrian government in providing for these necessary schools.

A much more memorable and historic document is the Memoir of Archbishop Langevin to the Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph in 1904.[8] Here Archbishop Langevin gives a complete analysis of the Ukrainian problem under four separate headings:

1. The Population,
2. Dangers to the Faith and Social Order,
3. What has been done to meet these Dangers,
4. What should be done.

He reminds His Majesty that in 1904 some 80,000 of his subjects were living in Western Canada and of these, 60,000 were Ukrainian. He stated that 30,000 of them were to be found in Manitoba, 20,000 in Alberta, and 10,000 in Saskatchewan. Here he again assures the Emperor of the necessity of schools for the Ukrainian children as there are 4,000 of

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[7] Memorandum of Archbishop A. Langevin of St. Boniface to Count Goluchowski, Austrian Minister of External Affairs. May 2, 1899, St. Boniface Archives.

[8] **Memoire** sur la situation des sujets ruthènes de Sa Mejesté apostolique, l'Empereur d'Autriche, dane l'Ouest Canadien. (Amérique Britannique) by Archbishop A. Langevin, July 2, 1904. St. Boniface Archives.

these children without schools, and presses the point that to a definite degree the Emperor was responsible for the future of these children. In this regard he requested any possible assistance for the needs of the Ukrainians.

> Le second moyen de sauver la situation serait de construire une école centrale, à Winnipeg, pour les enfants Ruthènes. Déjà les Catholiques Anglais, allemands, polonais ont leurs écoles speciales qu'ils entretiennent à leurs frais. Les Ruthènes plus pauvres auraient peine à faire cette nouvelle dépense; mais il leur faudrait une école sépareée. Un père Basilien a déjà ouvert, ce printemps de 1904, à Winnipeg, une école libre dans une petite maison que les Soeurs Servantes de Marie de Galicie, déjà établies dans le diocèse de St. Albert vont venir habiter à l'automne si elles n'y sont pas déjà installées.
>
> Si l'on pouvait aussi nous envoyer des maitres catholique brevetés, on nous rendrait un grand service. Je le repète, il y a plus de 4000 enfantes Ruthènes sans école.
>
> Pour conclure qu'il me soit permis de faire deux remarques: D'abord les Ruthènes, au Canada, sont appelés à jouer un role important dans les affaires religieuses et politiques, tant parcequ'ils auront bientot droit de vote comme tous les autres citoyens que parcequ'ils sont déjà très-nombreux et tous ou presque tous on voie d'acquerir une honnete aisance, sinon la fortune...[9]

This intense appeal to the Austrian government brought no response. This great friend of the Ukrainian people then turned to his good friend, Premier Roblin of Manitoba, and asked him to establish a Ukrainian seminary. Such an institution (The Ruthenian Training School) with the aid of Mr. Roblin was actually opened on Minto Street in Winnipeg in 1904. It was soon transferred to Brandon where it was in full operation till 1910. A letter from Premier Roblin to the Archbishop indicated his readiness to cooperate in this matter.[10]

> ...regarding the necessity of the Education of the... Galician children of this Province... I may say that it has already been considered by the Government, and while we have not reached any conclusion... it is felt that some provision must be made in order that the children of these people have at least temporary school education. I shall be glad to further consider the matter with you along with other members of the Government as to a method of solution of what appears to be a very difficult problem at present.

It may be mentioned here that Bishop Vital Grandin had established a school in St. Albert in 1900. This school, which

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[9] **Ibid., Extract from the Memoire.**

[10] Letter of Premier Roblin of Manitoba to Archbishop Langevin, No. 193, St. Boniface Archives, dated January 26, 1901.

had a program of studies generally classical in content, was attended by many Ukrainian students from Alberta. This school existed about seventeen years. Father J. Tymochko, O. S. B. M., and Dr. N. Strilchuk of Mundare are products of this school. In the fall of 1913, Archbishop Langevin established a small seminary near his residence in St. Boniface. This school, however, was designed for those students who desired to take philosophical and theological studies in preparation for the priesthood. Ukrainian boys who were inclined towards the clerical life were encouraged to attend this school which was affiliated with St. Boniface College. It was at Archbishop Langevin's personal cost that St. Nicholas School for Ukrainian children was built in Winnipeg in 1911. In 1910, St. Josaphat's School in Edmonton was built through the help of Bishop Legal.

The Missionary School at Sifton[11]

The report of the First Plenary Council of Canada held in Quebec in 1909 recommended the immediate building of a junior college for Ukrainian children near the Basilian Fathers in Winnipeg.

> Commencer au plus vite, près de l'église des Révérends Pères Basiliens, à Winnipeg, un Petit Séminaire pour les enfants ruthènes de tout l'Ouest sous la direction d'un Père Basilien. Une construction modeste pouvant loger une vingtaine d'élèves serait peu coûteuse et il est à espérer que l'on trouveras des bienfaiteurs qui donnerent cent piastres per an, pour un élève ruthène. Vingt diocèses donnant chacun cent piastres annuellement fonderaient en quelque sorte l'institution.[12]

By June, 1912, Rev. Father Joseph Jean had returned to Canada from Galicia, in Western Ukraine, where he had gone to study the Ukrainian language and rite. On August 14, 1912, Archbishop Langevin appointed Father Jean to the Ukrainian mission in Sifton, where he was told to found a school for the Ukrainians. Two other French Canadian missionaries, Rev. Father Joseph Gagnon and Rev. Father D. Claveloux, who had been in the district at an earlier date, had been instructed to gather as many children as possible in the Ukrainian colonies

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[11] Rev. J. Jean, O. S. B. M., **The School Question,** pp. 21-26, Archives of J. Jean, O. S. B. M., Basilian Fathers, Mundare, Alberta.

[12] Rapport de la Commission chargée par le Premier Concile plénier du Canada d'étudier la question des Ruthènes et de soumettre quelques conclusions, p. 7. Quebec, September 28, 1909. Archives of J. Jean, O. S. B. M., Basilian Fathers, Mundare, Alberta.

School For Ukrainian Boys At Sifton, 1912

who were to become the pupils of the new school. When Father Jean arrived in Sifton on August 15, he found that little had been accomplished.

Immediately, Fathers Jean and Gagnon began to prepare two classrooms in the basement of the Ukrainian Church in Sifton. A home newly built for the purpose was used to house the students. The third floor of this home was turned into a dormitory which was furnished with good iron beds and matresses for twenty students. A kitchen and dining room were prepared in the basement. Arrangements were made with the Sisters Servants in Winnipeg who agreed to cook for the students at the modest sum of $50.00 per month. One of the first teachers, Professor Basil Bulyk, was already in Sifton. Father Claveloux was instructed to visit the Ukrainian colonies to obtain as many students as possible for the school. This school opened in Sifton on September 6, 1912.

On the first day there were only three boys. The following day, Father Jean travelled forty-five miles with a team of horses to bring in a fourth boy. The next day, a Sunday, a fifth boy was brought in by his parents. Soon there were twelve boys and by January of 1913, there were sixteen students. Not one of them was able to read or write in Ukrainian or English. Father Jean then began to teach them the English language and the material covered in the first two grades of the Manitoba school program. Professor Bulyk taught Ukrainian reading and writing, and singing. Games were played during recreation and the children were satisfied and studied well. Each morning they attended Mass during which they sang Ukrainian hymns.

One can obtain a better idea of the course material taught at this school by an examination of the report cards which were issued each month to the parents of the children.[13]

Program of Studies
St. Josaphat's Missionary School in Sifton

Month ..... 19.....

Name of Student .....

Subjects	Marks up to 10	Standing in Class
1. Ukrainian Grammar	.....	.....
2. Ukrainian Reading	.....	.....
3. English Grammar	.....	.....
4. English Translation	.....	.....
5. Geography	.....	.....
6. Arithmetic	.....	.....

[13] Archives of Rev. J. Jean, O. S. B. M., **The Sifton School,** Basilian Fathers, Mundare, Alberta.

7. Catechism ....
Conduct ....
Character ....

.....
Director of the School

Of interest, too, is the daily time table for the average day. Except for Sundays and Church Holidays, there was little variation from this schedule.

Daily Time Table[14]

	Morning
5:40	Reveille
6:00	Prayer, Mass, and preparation of lessons
8:00	Breakfast, clean up, and recreation
8:40	Preparation of lessons
9:00	Classes
10:00	Recreation
10:10	Classes
11:15	Preparation of lessons
11:50	Prayer
12:00	Dinner
	Afternoon
1:15	Writing and Drawing
1:30	Preparation of lessons
2:00	Classes
2:50	Recreation
3:00	Classes
4:00	Recreation and lunch
4:30	Preparation of lessons
	Evening
6:00	Conference by the Director
6:30	Supper, recreation
7:30	Singing
8:00	Reading
8:30	Prayer and night rest

On Wednesdays and Saturdays, the children enjoyed extra periods of recreation from 12:30 to 4:30 p. m. Reading during mealtime was required on certain days of the week. Otherwise, recreation (permission to speak to each other) was the natural order.

When news arrived that the Ukrainian Canadians were to have their first Bishop in the person of Bishop N. Budka, Father Jean and his students sent a letter of welcome to Liverpool where he was to embark on the Empress of Britain.

[14] **Ibid.**

On receipt of the letter, the Bishop's first reaction, in the words of his secretary, Rev. J. Bala, was to say, "Look, a Frenchman is teaching our children in Canada. My first act on arriving there will be to close that school".[15]

On December 18, 1912, Father Jean went to Winnipeg to meet Bishop Budka. Here he was advised by the Bishop's secretary, Father Bala, to invite the Bishop to visit the school in Sifton. Said Father Bala, "Invite the Bishop to your school. He has a good heart, and once he has seen your school he will change his mind.[16] Accordingly, Bishop Budka received his invitation and was to arrive by train at 6:00 p. m. on January 18, 1913. Because of the extreme cold (50° below) the train did not arrive until 5:00 a. m. the following day.

When Bishop Budka arrived, Father Jean's parishioners were waiting for him at the station. These led him in procession to the church in Sifton where the Bishop had a short prayer service. At 10:00 a. m., the Bishop celebrated Pontifical Mass, followed by the ceremony of the Blessing of the Water, for it was January 19, and the Feast of the Epiphany (Jordan) according to the Julian Calendar. This latter ceremony was carried out in the icy cold outside, before a huge cross twelve feet high, constructed of ice.

In the evening, the students of the school gave a concert and sang so beautifully under the direction of Professor Bulyk that the Bishop wept. At the end of the concert, the Bishop offered Father Jean $500.00, all the money he had on his person, as a gift towards the upkeep of the school. To this, Father Jean replied,

"Your Excellency! Your need is greater than mine. I cannot accept this gift, but only ask you for one thing, Your Excellency's permission to continue my work for the Ukrainian children."[17] On receiving His Excellency's permission and blessing, Father Jean writes, "That blessing of my good Bishop has continued with me through all the many years of my service for the Ukrainians, so much so that I have never had a truly black day. I may say sincerely that I have never been piqued in my fifty years of service amongst the Ukrainians."[18]

The income received from the students of the school was exceedingly small. By the middle of December 1912, that is, three months after the opening of the school, he had obtained

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[15] Rev. J. Jean, O. S. B. M., **The School Question,** p. 23. Archives of Rev. J. Jean, O. S. B. M., Basilian Fathers, Mundare, Alberta.

[16] **Ibid.**

[17] **Ibid.,** p. 24.

[18] **Ibid.**

only a total of $45.00 from the students. To offset the financial difficulty Fathers Jean, Sabourin, Gagnon, Claveloux, and Desmarais gave all of their personal incomes towards the support of the school, so much so that by June, 1913, there was no debt on the school. In 1913, Father Jean left Sifton to enter the Basilian Order and was required to make his novitiate in Western Ukraine. With the outbreak of the war, his homecoming was delayed until 1925.

Rev. Father J. Jean, O. S. B. M.

Father Jean was replaced by Father A. Sabourin, who was appointed to the Sifton school on November 11, 1913, by Bishop Budka. He continued to direct this school until June, 1916. The Sisters Servants then took over the administration of this school when it became an educational institution for Ukrainian girls.

An advertisement which appeared twice in the Ukrainian press directed the attention of the Ukrainian public to the services offered by this school and encouraged young boys to enrol in it.

> For the purpose of preparing boys for college and the minor seminary, the regular missionary school will open on January 12, 1914. Classes will be held in the English and the Ukrainian languages. The main purpose of the school is to prepare boys for higher studies as quickly as possible. Those boys who have already been at the school and those who wish to study for the priesthood will

receive priority. Since preparatory studies in a college are very expensive and the Ukrainian language is not used, studies at the missionary school in Sifton will be less costly, and special attention will be given to the study of the English and Ukrainian languages, and rite. There is accommodation for twenty-five students. Costs for board, room, and education amount to $10.00 monthly. Laundry services per individual are .75 monthly. (Translated from the Ukrainian).[19]

The teachers at the Sifton school over the period 1912 to 1916, in addition to Fathers J. Jean, A. Sabourin, and Professor Bulyk, were: Fathers Peter Oleksiw, J. Kolcun, and P. Pasichnik, theological students M. Pelech and J. Tymochko, as well as Mr. George Skwarok, Mr. Demchuk, and Mr. A. Zaharichuk.[20]

Conclusion

The interest and energetic efforts of the French Canadian clergy on behalf of the Ukrainians is of historical value in the story of the Ukrainian settlers and their schools. These first schools, established through the zeal of Archbishop Langevin and his suffragan Bishops Pascal and Legal, were among the first for Ukrainians in Canada, if not on the continent. These schools were the first steps in the education of many a future leader amongst the Ukrainian people in Canada. Father Anthony Luhowy, a former student of the Sifton school, describes the value of this school in a published memoir where he says that hundreds of students eventually took advantage of its educational opportunities during the five years of its existence.[21] From these schools emerged many priests, doctors, lawyers, teachers, and politicians. George Skwarok, a product of these schools, received his B. A. in 1914 and M. A. in 1919.

The sacrifices of the young French Canadian priests who adopted a language that was foreign to them and a rite strange to those accustomed to the Latin ceremonials were heroic. Adapting themselves to the customs, traditions, and mode of thinking of the Ukrainians, they became a part of the Ukrain-

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[19] Advertisements in the **Kanadiysky Rusyn (Canadian Ruthenian)**, 3 (December 6, 1913), 1 and 3 (December 13, 1913), 1. Inserted by the Episcopal Ordinariate, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

[20] Rev. J. Jean, O. S. B. M., **The School Question**, pp. 21-26. Archives of Rev. J. Jean, O. S. B. M., Basilian Fathers, Mundare, Alberta.

[21] Anthony Luhovy, **"Vylyka Shkola" (A Great School), Kalendar Holos Spasytelia (Calendar-Almanac of the Voice of the Redeemer)**, p. 109. Yorkton: Redemptorist Fathers, 1952.

ian way of life. As Metropolitan Sheptytsky prophesied, the Ukrainian people did not at first understand this manner of sacrifice, and they were suspicious of the strangers who claimed to be working for their good. On this score, the young French Canadian priests suffered frequently from the people who feared that they were to be Latinized and that any lengthy contact with priests who were formerly of the Latin rite would endanger their own Ukrainian rite.

Time has shown the truth and sincerity of their sacrifice and to them the Ukrainians can only remain grateful.

CHAPTER V

THE UKRAINIAN TRAINING SCHOOLS IN WESTERN CANADA

Introduction

Earlier chapters have shown that by 1900 there were about 60,000 Ukrainians in Western Canada and that during the period between 1896 and 1914, over 200,000 Ukrainians had immigrated to Canada. By 1912, 90 Ukrainian school districts had been organized in Alberta, and by 1915, there were 130.* In Manitoba, by 1915,, there were 111 such districts operating bilingual schools and employing 114 teachers, with an enrolment of 6,513 pupils.[1] The Calendar of the Canadian Rusyn for 1916 indicates that Manitoba, with a Ukrainian population of 60,000, had 130 Ukrainian school districts, and that in Saskatchewan, with a Ukrainian population of 70,000, there were over 200 Ukrainian schools and 80 Ukrainian teachers.[2] It may be safe to assume that by the end of 1915, there were about 400 Ukrainian schools in operation in Western Canada.

The Characteristic Plight of the Ukrainian Schools

It must be remembered that only those Ukrainians affected by economic conditions immigrated to Canada. Almost without exception, they were peasants who had very little opportunity

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* The expression "Ukrainian school district" as used in this work, is defined to mean a school district inhabited entirely or largely by Ukrainian settlers.

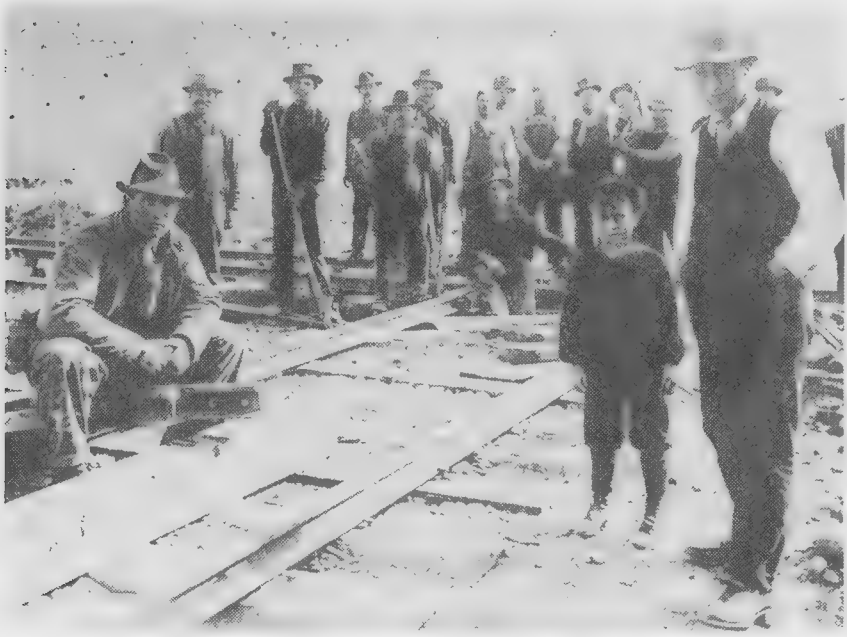
[1] **Special Report on Bi-Lingual Schools in Manitoba,** February 1, 1916, p. 1. As quoted in C. H. Young, **The Ukrainian Canadians,** pp. 180-181. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1931.

[2] "Ukrayinski Ucheteli i Shkoly v Kanadi" (Ukrainian Teachers and Schools in Canada), **Illustrovany Kalendar Kanadiyskoho Rusyna (Illustrated Calendar-Almanac of the Canadian Ruthenian),** pp. 37-38. Winnipeg: 1916.

for education in the Ukraine. Of these, 50 per cent were illiterate, and as late as 1921, the Ukrainians were the most illiterate people in Canada.

> The foreign born Ukrainians, showing nearly 40 per cent (10 years of age and over) illiterate, stand at the top of the table, while the Norwegians, with only 1.40 per cent illiterate, are at the bottom.[3]

A further hindrance to the progress of education amongst the Ukrainian settlers in Canada was a natural and instinctive



Ukrainian Settlers Working on the Railways

resistance to anything which proposed or suggested assimilation. Their whole historical background was a struggle for the preservation of their national identity, and the public school, the greatest instrument of assimilation, was looked upon with distrust and suspicion.

> The public school is distinct even from those educational institutions of Ukrainian-Canadian society proper, for the latter are sponsored by the Ukrainians themselves and are promoted by reasons quite the reverse, though not exclusive of those for which the pub-

[3] **Origin, Birthplace, etc., Study of 1921 Census,** p. 170. As found in C. H. Young, **op. cit.,** p. 179.

lic school actually exists among them. Chief of these is the teaching of Ukrainian to the juveniles in order to maintain their identity as a distinct racial group, and the teaching of English to adults in order to improve the capacity of the individual members and thereby raise the status and prestige of their group.

The public school among these people aims to do the opposite. It is regarded by us, and rightly so, as the most important means of assimilating the foreign-born or the children of the foreign-born. The Ukrainians have known this and in the past they have done what other immigrant groups have done under similar circumstances — refused, failing other means of defence, to be a party to the proposition.[4]

Again, the economic factor kept many children out of the schools because every pair of hands was needed in the very fight for existence. It was no wonder then that children were often kept from school because the need for them at home was great.

Second only to the watchful inactivity and open antogonism of the Ukrainians as a factor in determining the progress of education in their settlements, was that of economic conditions. This refers not only to the Ukrainians but also to the provinces in which they settled. It must be remembered that Saskatchewan and Alberta did not become provinces until 1905, nearly a decade after the first Ukrainians had arrived in Canada. And as for the Ukrainians, it was at least a decade before many of them were on their feet even in the best districts, for the reason that they had little or no means with which to start farming, and in most cases had relatively hard land to clear. Even today in certain parts of the West, it is asking too much to levy school tax on these people.[5]

In retrospect, one of the greatest calamities affecting the Ukrainian immigration was that they were not accompanied by a proportionate number of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Although Western Ukraine had its own universities, teachers' colleges, and technical institutes supplying professors, teachers, lawyers, physicians, editors, etc., these for the most part found conditions satisfactory enough at home and felt neither the need nor the desire to emigrate. Except for the Basilian Fathers who came to make a permanent stay in Canada in 1902, Ukrainian intellectuals dribbled into the country only sporadically. It was only after the Second World War that hundreds of Ukrainian university graduates flowed into this country with the strongest of religious and political convictions. It is unfortunate that their timing was late by half a century, for had they arrived

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[4] C. H. Young, **op. cit.**, pp. 178-179.

[5] **Ibid.**, p. 179.

in the 1890's and made their adjustments to their new homeland fifty years ago, there is no doubt but that their contribution to the economic, social, cultural, and educational growth of the Ukrainians in Canada would have been much more significant than it has been.

In the early pioneer days there were few roads, and the way to school often led through miles of brush. Qualified teachers were hard to acquire and few of them wished to take advantage of the primitive facilities offered in the "bush" country. Often the prospective teachers were required to board and live with the entire farming family in a single room. Salaries in the poorer districts were as low as $30.00 to $45.00 a month. The majority of the teachers were of the permit category, and the English-speaking teachers who ventured into the Ukrainian districts were often veterans or young university students who sought work during the summer months. Often as many as three different teachers taught in the one school during the interval of a school year. Some would teach a year or two and then move on to greener pastures.

As a consequence of such frequent changes of teachers, there was great wastage, and as usual it was the children who suffered the most. The pupils disliked attending school where they understood nothing or very little because of their language handicap. The days of fine school libraries, large and pleasing illustrations, flash cards, and all the little props and mechanism which make today's classrooms so attractive were only coming into being. Those children were indeed fortunate who had the imaginative and inventive teacher who was able to color and transform the plain pioneer schoolroom because of his teaching skill and ingenuity. Lessons were limited to reading, writing, and ciphering. Many of the teachers living under the most trying of circumstances, and teaching foreign-born children who knew little or no English at all, were not conscientious in their efforts, or felt that the task demanded a specialized pedagogical training beyond their own capacities. There is no doubt that in such schools the children were neglected, and often the Ukrainian settlers felt that the cost of keeping them in operation was a waste. The English-speaking teacher did not understand the Ukrainian child, nor did the Ukrainian child understand the teacher. "The boy", "the dog", "the cat", etc. remained meaningless symbols unless there was someone who could make them meaningful to the child. An English missionary-teacher writing in a religious journal of the time states, "...The Central European children are so dense that it is perhaps too much to expect that they should ever

make good and desirable citizens in Canada."[6] The Free Press of Winnipeg reacted to the above statement by proposing that the flow of immigration to Canada from Central Europe be stopped. Yet these same children, once they were given an opportunity to prove themselves, inspired Robert Fletcher, Supervisor of Schools among Foreigners in Alberta, to say, "Ruthenian children are as a rule bright and intelligent, and even

Early Ukrainian Teachers. Far Right: Michael Luchkowich first Ukrainian Member of Parliament

with the handicap of acquiring a new language, they keep abreast with the children of English-speaking parents."

In Manitoba, the Laurier-Greenway agreement of 1897, known as Section 258 of the Public Schools Act, had a specific clause which read that "where ten of the pupils speak the French language, or any other language other than English, as their native language, the teaching for such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language, and English upon the bilingual system." Whenever possible, the Ukrainians hired Ukrainian-speaking teachers for their schools, but the demand was greater than the supply.

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[6] Wm. A. Chumer, **Spomyny pro Perezhyvannya Perschykh Ukrayinskykh Pereselentsiv v Kanadi, 1891-1941, (Memoirs of the Experiences of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada, 1891-1941)**, p. 73. Edmonton: the author, 1942.

When the English-speaking teacher did not readily wish to go into the "backward" Ukrainian district, the Ukrainian-speaking teacher was usually ready to enter upon an atmospere with which he was throughly familiar. Without going into the merits and demerits of the bilingual system, the arrangement of a Ukrainian teacher in a Ukrainian school was the source of mutual satisfaction to the parents, to the teacher, and to the children. As it happened, there were more Ukrainian school districts than Ukrainian school teachers; in fact, many of the classrooms were empty for the want of an English-speaking teacher to fill them. In 1915, with the war on in Europe, twenty-five per cent of the schools were empty because of a lack of teachers.[7] It became evident that some instrument of instruction was necessary whereby Ukrainian teachers could be trained at least to a degree which would permit them to go out into the Ukrainian districts and teach the children under what at the time were pioneering conditions.

The Ukrainian Training School in Winnipeg

The Conservative government of Rodmond Palen Roblin, which was in power in Manitoba from 1900 to 1915, was faced with the gigantic problem of providing schools and teachers for the ever increasing Ukrainian settlements and the settlements of other ethnic groups. In 1903, the Department of Education engaged Theodore Stefanik, who had a knowledge of English, to organize schools among the Ukrainians, and in 1910 Paul Gigeychuk. However, after schools had been established, it was found that qualified Anglo-Saxon teachers refused to teach in the "foreign" districts, which were considered "backward."[8]

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[7] W. Mihaychuk, "Ukrayinsko-Angliske Uchetelstvo v Kanadi" (Ukrainian-English Teachers in Canada), **Kalendar Ukrayinskoho Holosu (Calendar-Almanac of the Ukrainian Voice)**, p. 170. Winnipeg: 1915.

[8] P. Yuzyk, **The Ukrainians in Manitoba,** pp. 144-145, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953.

TO PAGE 58: Students of the Ruthenian Training School on Minto Street in Winnipeg, 1906.

Top Row: Ogryzlo, Hykawy, Tschaikowsky, Hawreliuk, Saranchuk, Samotiuk. Second Row: Arsenych, Kotsan, Litwin, Yakimischuk, Kulachkowsky, Karpech, Roshko. Third Row, Seated: Petryshyn, W. Chumer, Hrushovy, Principal J. T. Cressy, Drabyniasty, Instructor A. Chisholm, Kolodzinsky, Klymkiw. Centre Front: Ostapovych, Dedeliuk, Mayewsky, Graban, Basarabowych.

In 1904, the Conservative Government under R. P. Roblin, opened a Ruthenian Training School for Ukrainian teachers on Minto Street in Winnipeg opposite the Army Barracks.[9] Active members of the Conservative Government responsible for the founding of this school were Premier R. P. Roblin, Colin Campbell, Stanley McInnis, G. R. Coldwell, and R. Fletcher.[10] About forty students registered for the first session. The principal of this school was J. T. Gressy of Yorkshire, England, and he was assisted by A. Chisholm, teacher of high school subjects, and Jacob Makohin, a qualified teacher from Ukraine who taught Ukrainian subjects. Later, another Ukrainian teacher was Dionysius Perch. This school on Minto Street, Winnipeg, is considered to be the first Ukrainian high school in Canada.

Archbishop Adelard Langevin, referring to this school, wrote, "...the new school for young Galicians is in fact an immense advantage to these people who are in such urgent need of school teachers."[11]

At the end of the first year's sessions, it appeared that the school on Minto Street would be closed down, but the Ukrainian teachers' convention held in Winnipeg in 1906 brought pressure upon the government for the continuation of the school.[12] In an interview with W. Chumer, one of the first students of the Winnipeg and Brandon training schools, it was stated that the government agreed to provide for a training school in Winnipeg in the year 1904. The Minto Street school was formally opened in Winnipeg on February 3, 1905, and closed on June 30, 1907. A convention of Ukrainian teachers and citizens at Winnipeg in 1908 impressed the government with the necessity of continuing the work of the school. With the cooperation of the Minister of Education, Stanley McInnis, the school was continued at its new site in Brandon opening in the fall of 1908.[13]

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[9] P. Bozyk, **Tserkov Ukrayintsiv v Kanadi (The Church of the Ukrainians in Canada)**, p. 87. Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian, 1927.

[10] M. Stechishin, "Nashe Shkilnytstwo" (Our Schools), **Narodny Kalendar Ukrayinska Rodyna (The People's Calendar-Almanac for the Ukrainian Family)**, pp. 152-154, Winnipeg, Manitoba: 1915.

[11] Letter of Archbishop A. Langevin to the Hon. M. Rogers, Minister of Public Works, Manitoba, dated February 6, 1905. Letter No. 203, p. 593, St. Boniface Archives.

[12] M. Stechishin, **op. cit.**, p. 154.

[13] Interview between the writer and W. Chumer, Edmonton, Alberta, at Edmonton, June 21, 1958.

The Ukrainian Training School in Brandon

The Ukrainian Training School at Brandon proved to be a successful venture, and today many Ukrainians consider it to be one of the bright marks in the educational progress of the Ukrainian people in Canada. This school existed from 1908 until shortly before the abolition of the bilingual system in Manitoba in 1916. On March 9, 1915, Minister G. R. Coldwell announced that with the termination of that year's courses, the Brandon school would be closed.[14]

Ukrainian youth were encouraged to enter this seminary, and the pages of the Ukrainian press in Canada were used to make it known among the Ukrainians throughout the country. The following information was published for interested applicants.

> Priority will be given to those sons of farmers between the ages of 18 and 22. Applicants are required to have guarantors and some knowledge of the English language. Preferably they should have their public school completed and should apply and address their inquiries for complete information to the organizer of schools. P. Gigeychuk, Department of Education, Winnipeg.[15] (Translated from the Ukrainian).

A fairly complete account of this school is given by Orest Zerebko in a published article, "The Ukrainian Teachers' Seminaries in Canada."[16] The government gave financial assistance to those students who signed written guarantees stating that they would repay the government after they found teaching positions. The contract also required the student teacher to spend three years in training at the school, where he received his room, board, and education at a cost of $25.00 per month. Here they were taught the English language, Canadian and British History, Mathematics, English Literature, Geography, Botany, Book-keeping, Science, Art, and Music. In addition, they were taught those pedagogical subjects required by a candidate for the teaching profession. This pedagogical training was obtained by attending the Provincial Normal School for six months after they had completed their courses at the Training School. They were required to write examinations each year of

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[14] "Ukrayinski Ucheteli i Shkoly v Kanadi" (Ukrainian Teachers and Schools in Canada), **op. cit.,** p. 37.

[15] News Item in **Kanada (Canada),** Winnipeg, 1 (September 2, 1913), 4.

[16] Orest Zerebko, "Ukrayinski Uchetelski Seminariyi v Kanadi" (The Ukrainian Teachers' Seminaries in Canada), **Illustrovany Narodny Kalendar Tovarystva Prosvity (The Illustrated People's Calendar-Almanac of the Enlightenment Society),** pp. 158-162. Lwiw: Prosvita Society, 1914.

the three years spent at the Brandon Training School, and after successfully completing the Normal training, they were issued Third Class teaching certificates which permitted them to teach in the Manitoba schools.

In 1910, there were seventeen graduates from the school. In 1915 there were thirty-nine in the graduating class.[17] In 1911, about twenty trained teachers graduated with Third Class qualifications; ten in 1912 and fifteen in 1913.[18] Mr. J. T. Gressy continued as the principal of the school in Brandon and was assisted there by Mr. J. T. Norquay. After the departure of Jacob Makohin and D. Perch as the Ukrainian teachers of the institute, Taras D. Ferley held the position for about three years. For some time the Ukrainian post was vacant until 1913-14, when Petro Karmansky, who had arrived from the Ukraine, taught the Ukrainian language and related subjects.[19] Much credit should be given to Karmansky for his contribution to the Brandon school. Through his efforts the school gained in prestige and won the esteem of the Ukrainian teachers and public. Mr. John E. Basarab succeeded him on February 2, 1915.[20]

John E. Basarab Q. C., of Edmonton, who was a student at the Brandon school prior to his appointment as the Ukrainian teacher of the institution, praises it very highly.[21] The school was administrated efficiently; the students received a sound and intensive training in the required high school subjects from sympathetic and understanding teachers. The facilities of the building permitted the accommodation of sixty to sixty-five students at a time. This school became the root of Ukrainian culture in Canada, for many of its students continued with their studies in Canadian universities, emerged as graduates in their chosen fields, and became leaders among their people in the new homeland.

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[17] Interview between the writer and J. E. Basarab Q. C., of Edmonton, Alberta, former teacher at the Ruthenian Training School, Brandon, Manitoba, at Edmonton, December 4, 1957.

[18] M. Stechishin, **op. cit.,** p. 156. , ,

, [19] W. Swystun, "Nashe Shkilnytstwo v Kanadi" (Our Schools in Canada), **Kalendar Ukrayinskoho Holosu (Calendar-Almanac of the Ukrainian Voice),** p. 123. Winnipeg: 1915. ,

[20] J. Stechishin, **Yuvileyna Knyha Ukrayinskoho Instytutu im. P. Mohyly v Saskatooni, 1916-1941, (Jubilee Book of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon, 1916-1941),** p. 36. Saskatoon: P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute, 1945. , ,

[21] Interview between the writer and J. E. Basarab Q. C., of Edmonton, Alberta, at Edmonton, December 4, 1957. , ,

Ukrainian Teachers in Training, Brandon, 1908

The Ukrainian-English Seminary in Regina

A similar school for the training of Ukrainian teachers was established by the Saskatchewan Government at Regina in 1909, and was offically called The English School for Foreigners.[22] The Ukrainian people and Ukrainian press referred to it as the Ukrainian-English Seminary in Regina. Along with director Greer the first Ukrainian teacher was W. Pliatsko who remained on the teaching staff for only a few months.[23] The only other Ukrainian teacher on the staff of this school was N. Romaniuk, who received his appointment in the fall of 1914. There were nearly fifty students registered at this school.[24]

The Regina school operated in much the same manner and with much the same purpose as the Brandon School, although its influence and popularity with the Ukrainian people was much less. Joseph Megas, a Saskatchewan school organizer, offers the following information in the pages of Novy Kray, 1910:

> The Saskatchewan Provincial Government opened a new school last year to prepare qualified teachers for Ukrainian school districts of the province. This year the building will be enlarged to accommodate a greater number of students. There will be two teachers, and the students will be divided into lower and higher divisions. The course begins at the beginning of October and will last for eight months. (Translated from the Ukrainian).[25]

One of the reasons the Regina school did not win the immediate approval of the Ukrainian public was that there was no Ukrainian teacher on the teaching staff as there was in the Brandon school. The Ukrainians felt that it was extremely important for the future teachers to be fully instructed in the Ukrainian language, Ukrainian literature, and history before going out to teach Ukrainian children. In 1912, Novy Kray wrote:

> For the first time since the Ukrainian teachers' seminary was founded in Regina, a concert was given in the Ukrainian language in honor of the Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko. This is a very important moment, because since the founding of the seminary, the Ukrainian language had no place in it.[26]

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[22] J. Stechishin, **op. cit.,** pp. 30, 31, 341.

[23] W. Swystun, **op. cit.,** p. 128.

[24] O. Zerebko, **op. cit.,** p. 160.

[25] News Item in the **Novy Kray (The New Country),** Rosthern, Saskatchewan, 1 (September 30, 1910), 1.

[26] News Item in the **Novy Kray (The New Country),** Rosthern, Saskatchewan, 3 (March 1, 1912), 6.

The Regina school was open to other nationalities as well, although most of its student body was Ukrainian. In 1912, of forty-seven students there were two Poles and three Germans; the rest were Ukrainian.[27]

The English School for Foreigners in Vegreville

This school was opened in Vegreville by the Alberta Government on February 3, 1913.[28] For the greater part of the three years that it existed, the principal was W. A. Stickle. E. S. Farr succeeded him in the fall of 1915. The school was closed in 1916.

During the first term there was an enrolment of twenty-three pupils ranging in age from sixteen to twenty-eight. Since these students entered with varying degrees of knowledge, they were put on the public school program or high school program as the achievement of each individual indicated. Since these were senior students, it was possible for some of them to cover the work of five grades by the end of June. A great deal of time was given to the study of English, and phonetic drills were conducted constantly. The language handicap made progress in such subjects as history slower because this required a reading understanding. The purpose of the school was to prepare the students for departmental examinations. In addition, short term courses were offered in English for those who wished to accept business position in banks, stores, or general clerical work. Within three years, about 120 students took advantage of the facilities offered by the school.[29]

For the year 1914, an analysis of grading reported by the principal, W. A. Stickle, showed the following distribution of students in the various grades and their educational standing on entering the school.[30]

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
First Term	4	1	5	2	2	0	4	0	6	5	0
Second Term	1	1	4	1	2	0	2	2	5	1	3

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[27] News Item in the **Novy Kray (The New Country)**, Rosthern, Saskatchewan, 3 (February 10, 1912), 1.

[28] W. A. Stickle, "School for Foreigners", **Eighth Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Province of Alberta, 1913,** pp. 49-51. Edmonton: J. W. Jeffery, Government Printer, 1914.

[29] E. S. Farr, "English School for Foreigners", **Tenth Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Province of Alberta, 1915,** pp. 145. Edmonton: J. W. Jeffery, Government Printer, 1916.

[30] W. A. Stickle, **Ninth Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Province of Alberta, 1914,** p. 71. Edmonton: J. W. Jeffery, Government Printer, 1915.

Standing of Students on Entering

Total enrolment	37
Born in foreign countries	36
Born in Canada	1
In Canada for 10 years	8
In Canada for 5 years but less than 10 years	8
In Canada less than 5 years	21
No previous education	1
Not able to speak or understand English	9
Some Public School education in Canada	9
Some Public School education in native land	27
Both Public and High School education in native land	9

The English School for Foreigners in Vegreville never became as successful an enterprise as the Brandon School nor was it ever as popular with the Ukrainians. When former students speak and write of the Brandon School with praise and consider it the "salvation of the Ukrainian people" during the time of their early educational problems, the references found in the Ukrainian press in regard to the Vegreville school were usually unfavorable.

The reasons for this were several. Students entered the Vegreville school hoping they would be given three or four years training which would enable them to receive teaching permits upon graduating, as did the Brandon school. The Vegreville school was designed to prepare students for entrance into the Normal School and provided instruction for those entering upon the business world. Consequently, would-be teachers were disappointed to find that they were required to pass the departmental examinations and then complete the standard course of training at the Provincial Normal School.[31] About five students from this school eventually became qualified teachers.[32] Again, many of the students considered the principal, W. A. Stickle, to be unsympathetic and unnecessarily strict, and after one stern disciplinary action which resulted in an investigation by the Department of Education, many of the students left the school altogether.[33] Later, W. A. Stickle was appointed principal of the Camrose Normal School.

The school continued to exist for about four years. There is no doubt that it played an important role in the education

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[31] J. T. Ross, **Eighth Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Province of Alberta, 1913,** p. 26. Edmonton: J. W. Jeffery, Government Printer, 1914.

[32] Interview between the writer and Peter Svarich, early organizer of Ukrainian Schools, Vegreville, Alberta, at Vegreville, March 25, 1957.

[33] News Item in the **Novyny (The News),** 1 (December 27, 1913), 2.

of many students of Ukrainian extraction. Shortly before its closing, E. S. Farr, who succeeded W. A. Stickle as principal, assessed the value of the school in these words.

> The English School for Foreigners has made possible the more ready adaption of the young foreigner in Alberta to our Canadian citizenship; it has a great moral effect, directly and indirectly, on foreign communities, and thereby has proved its usefulness. However, such an institution must remain experimental and temporary; soon it will be unnecessary. When that arrives the young man of foreign birth will be equipped to take his stand without handicap by the side of the young Canadian, and will be able to make his contribution, which is by no means a small one, to our national life.[34]

Conclusion

The Ukrainian Training Schools in Winnipeg, Brandon, Regina, and Vegreville, which began to come into existence in 1904 and which finally disappered in 1916, are of interest in the educational history of the Ukrainian Canadians. "Approximately 150 teachers (many of the permit category) were trained by the Brandon School".[35] J. Stechishin estimates that approximately two hundred teachers in all were trained by these Ukrainian seminaries.[36]

There is no doubt that these teachers had a tremendous influence for good amongst the Ukrainian settlers and their children in Western Canada. In Manitoba and Saskatchewan, these Ukrainian teachers held annual Teachers' Conventions where they considered their problems and from which they petitioned their respective governments for the wants and needs they deemed necessary to their teaching careers.

When the Ukrainian-speaking teachers were not desired by the English-speaking school districts, they were generally made most welcome in the Ukrainian school districts. The general shortage of teachers was felt more acutely in the Ukrainian districts for there were relatively few Ukrainian teachers, and more often than not, the English-speaking teacher was not anxious to work in an area where he might have had to live in a "dugout".[37] It is worth mentioning that some of the Ukrainian teachers were high school graduates from the Ukraine and except for the language handicap, were excellently qualified and indeed very successful in their teaching.

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[34] E. S. Farr, **op. cit.,** p. 145.

[35] P. Yuzyk, **op. cit.,** p. 145.

[36] J. Stechishin, **op. cit.,** p. 31.

[37] Interview between the writer and J. E. Basarab Q. C., **vide supra.**

The documentary history of Ukrainian Settlements in Canada is revealed in the light of early reports of Canadian Authorities originating in the year 1894. Here is an early report from *Hansard* which describes graphically the "dugouts" referred to, as well as the living conditions of the Ukrainians.[38]

> I visited several other places that day, but to describe each place would be too monotonous, as all the places were, as regards food and bedding, in the same sad plight, the only difference being that some had a little more than others. One place I came to on the following day I must describe. It is the residence of Mr. Handibuboa, the home is a "dug-out", 12x14, mud stove, mud roof, mud bed, and mud and wattle door!!! This man must be ingenious to say the least of it. He told me the same story as regards promises made in Hamburg with this difference, that he says Mr. Genick, and a dark-complexioned officer in Winnipeg, whose name he does not know, repeated these promises to him in Winnipeg, namely, that he would receive from the Government a team, wagon, plow, harrows, harness and a cow, and that he would be helped until he was able to get along. He said that he was sorry that he had left Galicia, but he hoped for better times. He has one child, and it looks very delicate. Handibuboa said that if it was not for the help he had received from the English settlers, that they would have starved,
>
> When I arrived at the next place, which was Wan Hlayi's, they were just preparing the last flour in the house for that night's supper, and did not know where they were going to get their breakfast from. While I was at another house the next morning, on my way to Yorkton, a woman arrived who had just walked over from her own house, about two miles distant, to borrow a meal of flour. She came in crying, and said that her two remaining children were starving, and that she did not know what to do. She volunteered the statement that one of her children had died before Christmas for want of proper food, and she was afraid the others would die too. I asked several of the English-speaking settlers their opinion of these people as settlers, and in every case was informed that the Government must be crazy to imagine that these Galicians stay, as they cannot see them starve before their eyes and it is impossible to give them effectual help without ruining themselves. The land that they are settled on is more suited for stock-raising than farming, and stock-raising is a little too much for the means of these people, whom the Hon. Minister of the Interior referred to in his address on the occasion of his last visit to his pets at this place as the most "desirable class of immigrants that ever came to Canada." He surely must have meant "undesirable," and if he did most people will agree with him.[38]

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[38] Article, "In the Days of Pioneers", **Opinion",** (June, July, August, 1955), pp. 12-13. Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association.

Possibly the greatest contribution of the Ukrainian Training Schools was that they served as the touchstone or impetus for further study. The early teaching careers of the Ukrainian students were often the first steps which led them to further intensive studies at the universities. These first Ukrainian

Open Ukrainian Bake Oven Used For All Baking Purposes By Early Pioneers

Canadian teachers became the nucleus of the future Ukrainian intelligentsia and leaders among the Ukrainian people in Canada. From their number emerged members representing all the professions and vocations: judges, lawyers, doctors, agriculturists, priests, editors, members of Parliament, and businessmen. The first Ukrainian university graduate in Canada was Orest Zerebko who received his B. A. degree in 1913. George Skwarok received his B. A. in 1915 and M. A. in 1919. Mr. Skwarok was appointed superintendent of schools for the Province of Saskatchewan in July, 1917, but declined the appointment in favor of the Metropolitan Institute (Bursa) in St. Boniface, Manitoba where he became the first director of the institution in 1917. Judge Arsenych, the first Ukrainian lawyer, graduated in 1916.

From the humble beginning of the early Ukrainian teacher slowly came the opportunities which the second and third generation Ukrainian Canadian was much more ready to appreciate.

CHAPTER VI

THE UKRAINIAN PRIVATE SCHOOLS*

Introduction

Up to the time of the First World War, the Ukrainian settlers were primarily concerned with establishing themselves and making a living on the homesteads and farms which they occupied. There was very little organizational life, and that little was limited to the social and community efforts centered around the individual parishes.

By the end of the war, the situation was somewhat changed. The Ukrainian settlers had chiseled out a foothold in the Canadian way of life. Some were slowly becoming prosperous. The Ukrainians became more interested in education and the schooling of their children. Definitely interested in preserving the Ukrainian language and in fighting off assimilation, the Ukrainians met their first obstacle when bilingualism which allowed the use of the Ukrainian language in the schools was forbidden by law in Manitoba in 1916. Saskatchewan and Alberta started out without official recognition of the bilingual system. The Ukrainian-English teachers of Alberta and Saskatchewan therefore found themselves in a more difficult position than the Ukrainian-English teachers of Manitoba prior to 1916.

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* There were several private schools established for Ukrainian children by the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist missions. The reader is referred to works on the religious life of the Ukrainians for more information. In 1907, Dr. A. J. Hunter of the Presbyterian mission at Teulon, Manitoba, said, "The experiment was rather too complex for a great democratic body like the Presbyterian church to handle." See P. Yuzyk, "The Religious Life," **The Ukrainians in Manitoba,** pp. 73-77. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953.

The Ukrainian "Bursas" or Hostels

In self-defence the Ukrainians began to buy buildings and establish hostels or "bursas" for the use of students in Edmonton, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, and St. Boniface. These were large organized boarding-homes catering to university, college, and high school students. It was hoped that the directors, and

Taras Shevchenko Bursa (formerly the Grand Hotel), Edmonton, Alberta, 1917

teachers, in control of these institutions, would help the students retain a knowledge of the Ukrainian language, literature. and history, as well as persevere in their Catholic faith while attending the schools and universities. The discipline which usually prevailed in these hostels permitted and provided for such extra-curricular activities. Among these early Ukrainian "bursas" was the Taras Shevchenko Institute, founded in Edmonton in 1917, and which occupied the premises of the former Grand Hotel on 98th Street and 107th Avenue.[1] This building was purchased by the Ukrainians for $60,000.00. At a Ukrainian convention held in Mundare, Alberta, in December, 1919, attended by the Honorable Frank Oliver, H. A. Mackie, M. P., Mr. Joseph McCallum, M. P. P., Dr. J. Boulanger of Edmonton, and Bishop N. Budka, $6,000.00 in funds were raised to help pay off the debt on the institution.[2] In 1922, the project failed because of financial and administrative difficulties. The site of this institution was later transferred to 92nd Street and 106th A Avenue, in Edmonton, where a large red brick building was rented to house Ukrainian students from 1925 until about 1932. In its last years, it was successfully directed by Brother Methodius, F. C. S., and other Brothers of the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

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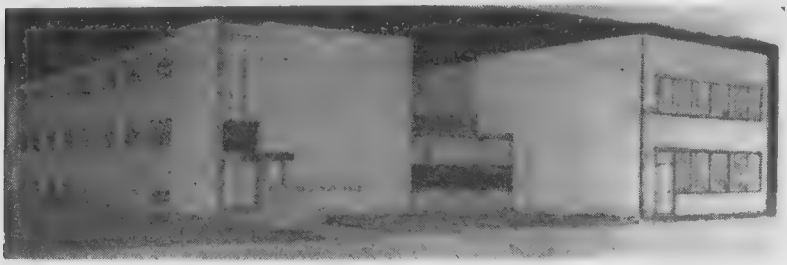
[1] P. Bozyk, **Tserkov Ukrayintsiw v Kanadi (The Church of the Ukrainians in Canada)**, p. 108. Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian, 1927.

[2] Chronicles of the Basilian Fathers, Volume 1, p. 143, Mundare, Alberta.

Peter Mohyla Institute, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 1918

Other early "bursas" were the P. Mohyla Institute founded in 1916 in Saskatoon, the A. Kotska Institute founded in Winnipeg in September, 1915, and the Rusko-Ukrainian Bursa founded in Edmonton on August 22, 1912.[3] Later, the M. Hrushewsky Institute appeared in Edmonton and the Markian Shashkewich Institute was founded in Saskatoon. Most of these early "bursas" or hostels have disappeared. Today, they have been replaced by newer and more modern institutions. Among these are St. Josaphat's Residence for university girls, St. Basil's Residence for university boys, founded by the Basilian Fathers in 1945 and 1946 in Edmonton, and the new St. John's



St. John's Institute, Edmonton, Alberta, 1958

Institute also in Edmonton. In Saskatoon, the P. Mohyla Institute and the large and modern Metropolitan Sheptytsky Institute opened in 1953 are successfully operating.

The early "bursas" were only as successful as there were leaders to lead them. They were continually beset by financial and administrative difficulties. The greatest difficulty was to obtain men who had university and teaching experience and who were able to understand and influence the students under their control. The lack of proper leadership and guidance often spelled their ruin and downfall.

The early "bursas" were beset by religious difficulties also. The P. Mohyla Institute was founded in 1916 with the sympathy and help of the Ukrainian Catholic public and press. In its opening year the majority of the students which it housed were Ukrainian Catholic.[4] In 1917, it became an independent Ukrainian institution free of any religious influences.[5] It eventually

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[3] J. Stechishin, **Yuvileyna Knyha Ukrayinskoho Instytutu im. P. Mohyly v Saskatooni,, 1916-1941 (Jubilee Book of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon, 1916-1941),** pp. 55, 39, 28. Saskatoon: P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute, 1945.

[4] **Ibid.,** p. 56.

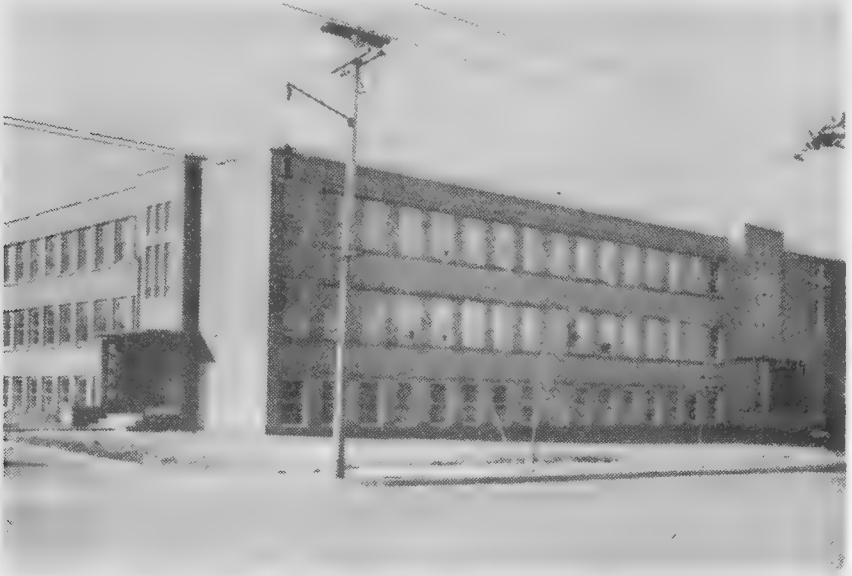
[5] **Ibid.,** pp. 76-79.

St. Josaphat's Residence, Edmonton, Alberta, 1945

St. Basil's Residence, Edmonton, Alberta, 1946

became, and is today, an educational instrument of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

One of the successful early "bursas" or hostels was the Metropolitan Sheptytsky Institute in St. Boniface, Manitoba, which was founded by the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop N. Budka.[6] The Bishop was able to obtain the services of George Skwa-



Metropolitan Sheptytsky Institute, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

rok, M. A., a qualified teacher and graduate of the University of Manitoba, who held the post of director of this institution from its founding in 1917 until 1920.[7] As many as sixty-eight Ukrainian university and college students were housed there in its first years. In addition to the regular courses taken at the university, the students were instructed privately in the Ukrainian language and literature, Ukrainian history, and religion. The students of this institution enjoyed extra-curricular activities which provided for music lessons, a school orchestra, drama, a glee club, and sports.[8]

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[6] News Item on the Metropolitan Bursa in the **Kanadiyski Rusyn (The Canadian Ruthenian)**, July 11, 1917.

[7] George Skwarok, Unpublished autobiography, **Life of George Skwarok**, first director of the Metropolitan Bursa in St. Boniface, Manitoba.

[8] George Skwarok, **Pershy Richny Zvit, 1917-1918, Bursy Metropolita A. Sheptytskoho v St. Boniface (The First Annual Report of the Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky Bursa in St. Boniface, 1917-1918)**, Winnipeg: Metropolitan Bursa, 1918.

The Ukrainian "bursas" or hostels were a phenomenon which grew with the time of the Ukrainian settlers and have remained with us until this day. Although the early Ukrainian "bursas" were definitely a contribution to the education of the first Ukrainian students, these institutions were plagued by internal and external difficulties. Summed up, these difficulties were financial, administrative, and directorial. It was because of this that they probably did not fulfill entirely the early hopes and ideals which were held out for them.

St. Joseph's College, Yorkton, Saskatchewan

In 1919, Most Reverend N. Budka, Ukrainian Catholic Bishop of Canada, persuaded the Catholic Extension Society of Canada to construct St. Joseph's College at Yorkton, Saskatchewan. This new institution of learning was to provide the sons of Ukrainian settlers with an adequate education and to foster vocations to the Ukrainian Catholic priesthood.[9]

The Catholic Extension Society, under the presidency of Right Revered T. O'Donnell, granted $100,000.00 towards the erection of the building.[10] The cornerstone of the college was laid by Bishop Budka on September 7, 1919. The Bishop, lacking religious teachers to direct this school, petitoned the Provincial, Brother Bernard, of the Brothers of the Christian Schools to place his English-speaking Brothers in charge of the new establishment. The Redemptorist Fathers in charge of the Ukrainian mission at Yorkton visited Brother Bernard and pressed the Bishop's plea. These were Fathers A. Delaere, Louis Van den Bossche, and N. M. Descamps. Brother Bernard, the Provincial, responded by sending three Christian Brothers to the school: Brother A. Ansbert as director, Brother Stanislaus Joseph, and Brother T. James. School began on October 11, 1920.[11]

There were only six pupils in the first class, but the enrolment increased rapidly and soon grades one to eleven were being taught.[12] In 1928, the first grade twelve class was established. As early as 1920, the college was visited by two distinguished personages: The Honorable Mr. Martin, Premier of Saskatchewan, and the Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King, Leader

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[9] Brother Stanislaus James F.S.C., **The History of St. Joseph's College (1919-1955)**, p. 1. Yorkton, Saskatchewan: St. Joseph's College, 1955.

[10] Rev. Brother Stanislaus Joseph, **Early History of St. Joseph's College**, p. 1. As found in Brother Stanislaus James, **op. cit.**, p. 1.

[11] **Ibid.**, p. 1.

[12] **Ibid.**, p. 5.

of the Opposition in the Federal House. "Both spoke of the need of such an educational institution for the Ukrainian youth of Western Canada from the point of view of better Canadian citizenship."[13]

Brother Stanislaus Joseph, one of the first Brothers assigned to the school, dedicated himself heroically to the task of Christian education of Ukrainian youth. He devoted himself to the study of the Ukrainian language, the Ukrainian rite, and familiarized himself with the history, customs, and traditions of the people.[14]

> If today, St. Joseph's College in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, is held in deep veneration by the Ukrainians of Canada; if hundreds of its graduates scattered throughout the country in every field of business and professional life testify to a sound Catholic education; if the ranks of the Canadian Ukrainian Clergy are steadily increasing in numbers — it is to Brother Stanislaus Joseph that most of the credit must be given.[15]

Sports and physical education became an important part of the regular curriculum. "House Leagues" were formed and the boys participated in such sports as basketball, hockey, badminton, volleyball, baseball, softball, soccer, and other minor sports.[16] In 1923, the College Troop won the shield for Rifle Competition. In 1925-26, the College Juvenile team won the city title in hockey.[17] The College has been consistently successful in sports and has held athletic championships through the years in hockey, basketball, track and field.

Extra-curricular activities and a highly varied program did much to enrich the interests and lives of all the boys in the institution. A tumbling group was formed in 1935. In 1938, an extension department modelled on that of St. Francis Xavier University, Nova Scotia, was formed to better social and economic conditions in Northeastern Saskatchewan. In 1939, St. Joseph's College Alumni Association was revived. In 1943, nine students were enrolled with the Air Cadet Corps, and all students were given a Defense Training Course during 1943-44. The College Cadet Corps was organized in 1944-45 and this group won the Grand Challenge Trophy for the Saskatchewan

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[13] Brother Stanislaus James, **op. cit.,** p. 2.

[14] Rev. Brother S. Methodius, **Reverend Brother Stanislaus Joseph, F. S. C.,** 1953, p. 9. As found in Brother Stanislaus James, **op. cit.,** p. 3.

[15] **Ibid., p. 14.**

[16] Brother Stanislaus James, F. S. C., **The History of St. Joseph's College, (1919-1955),** p. 3. Yorkton, Saskatchewan: St. Joseph's College, 1955.

[17] **Ibid., p. 3.**

area several times. The boys' college life was also rounded out with the organization of Glee Clubs, school orchestras, oratorical contests, Road-E-O contests, and many other social, cultural, and religious activities.[18]

In June, 1947, for the first time, the students of the College had the opportunity to write the official university examinations in the Ukrainian language and obtain credit towards a degree. Through the leadership and efforts of Brother Metho-

St. Joseph's College, 1919 and the Proposed New Extension, Yorkton, Saskatchewan

dius, on September 4, 1952, Honorable W. S. Lloyd, Minister of Education recognized the Ukrainian language as an optional subject in all high school grades in St. Joseph's College and Sacred Heart Academy. In 1954, the privilege was extended to all the high schools in the province.[19]

St. Joseph's College, which was founded to fulfill the educational needs of the Ukrainian settlers, has stayed with the Ukrainian people to this day. From the time of its establishment, there have been six directors in charge of the institution: Brother Ansbert, 1919-1922; Brother Stanislaus Joseph, 1922-1929; Brother Anthony, 1929-1939; Brother Aloysius, 1939-

[18] **Ibid., pp. 7 to 19.**
[19] **Ibid.,** p. 18.

1945; Brother Justin, 1945-1951; Brother Methodius, 1951-1953[20]. The present director is Brother Justin. The College now limits itself to grades nine to twelve. Approximately 150 boys attend the school and they represent most of the provinces of Canada and some States in the United States.

In 1951, Brother Methodius wrote that in the thirty-two years of the College's existence, 2,563 students had entered its portals.[21]

> By 1951, 201 students of the College had continued their studies and graduated from the university; 326 became teachers; 24 became priests; from the institution emerged 6 medical doctors; 4 dentists; 12 engineers; 6 university professors; 5 lawyers; 1 school superintendent; 1 provincial legislative member; 7 political candidates; 47 who became influential Ukrainian leaders; 28 well known business men; and 31 officers with the Canadian services. (Translated from the Ukrainian).[22]

Sacred Heart Academy, Yorkton, Saskatchewan

The Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate first established a home in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, in 1915, with the help of Bishop N. Budka.[23] The Sisters were able to obtain a loan of $25.000.00 from the Sulpician Fathers of Montreal, and immediately work began on a new school which was completed in 1916, under the guidance of Father A. Delaere, C.S S.R.[24]

The Ukrainian Sisters began their work with the Ukrainian children by opening an orphanage and establishing an elementary school in the new building where grades one to eight were taught. The first teaching Sisters there were Sister Athanasia and Sister Alexandra. This school, first known as the Sacred Heart Institute, formally opened classes on January 11, 1917.[25] At first there were twenty-five students, seventeen re-

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[20] Brother S. Methodius, **Pochatky i Pratsia Kolegiyi Sw. Yosyfa v Yorktoni, Saskatchewani (The Beginnings and Work of St. Joseph's College in Yorkton, Saskatchewan),** pp. 4-7. Yorkton, Saskatchewan: St. Joseph's College, 1951.

[21] **Ibid.,** p. 8.

[22] **Ibid.,** p. 8.

[23] Sister Elizabeth, S.S.M.I., "Forty Years in God's Service", **Yuvileyna Knyha Sester Sluzebnyts, 1892-1942 (Jubilee Book of the Sisters Servants, 1892-1942),** p. 93. Edmonton, Alberta: Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, 1942.

[24] **Ibid.,** p. 93.

[25] **Pioneer Days of Our Community,** unpublished material prepared for the Saskatchewan Provincial Archives by the high school girls of Sacred Heart Academy on the occasion of Saskatchewan's Golden Jubilee, 1905-1955. Yorkton, Saskatchewan.

sident and eight non-resident students. Other early teachers were Sisters Nicholas, Macrina, Euleteria, Eugenia, Daria, and Margaret.[26]

Sacred Heart Academy, Yorkton, Saskatchewan, 1917

The New Sacred Heart Academy, Yorkton, Saskatchewan. 1958

In 1932, the Sisters began teaching high school. The first high school teachers were Sisters Elizabeth and Cornelia. The school became known as Sacred Heart Academy when it became

[26] **Ibid.**

exclusively a high school for girls in 1945.[27] At that time, the elementary grades were transferred to another building. In 1955, twenty-three years after the opening of the high school, 1,305 young women had attended classes at this Academy, coming from various parts of Canada, as well as North Dakota in the United States.[28] In 1955, a total of 1,997 pupils had completed the elementary grades under the direction of these Sisters, and a total of 59,777 children had received training from the Sisters since their arrival in 1915.[29]

At the end of the 1958 school term, there were one hundred and thirty-four girls attending the Academy, where a wide and complete program of high school studies were offered from grades nine to twelve. The school possesses one of the finest high school libraries in the province. The girls have been provided with a variety of social and cultural activities, including the publication of "Cor Regis", and academically have established an outstanding record.

From this school have emerged hundreds of teachers, and nurses, while others have entered upon business careers. Many have completed their university studies and are represented in almost all the professions. From Sacred Heart Academy alone, about 100 girls have chosen the religious vocation and entered the ranks of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate to continue the Sisters' work for the Ukrainian people.[30]

On May 25, 1958, the Sisters formally opened a new $600,000.00 extension to the old Academy which will be able to accommodate the increasing number of Ukrainian girls who wish to study there.[31] The new Sacred Heart Academy is equipped with the most modern classrooms, dormitories, dining hall, auditorium-gymnasium, library, laboratories, students' lounge, and beautiful chapel.[32] The new Sacred Heart Academy in Yorkton is another milestone in the educational history of the Ukrainian Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate.

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[27] "Sestry Sluzebnytsi v Saskatchewani" (Sisters Servants in Saskatchewan), **Yuvileyna Knyha Ukraintsiw Katolykiw Saskatchewanu, 1905-1955 (Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian Catholics of Saskatchewan, 1905-1955)**, p. 182. Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Ukrainian Catholic Council of Saskatchewan, 1955.

[28] **Pioneer Days of Our Community, vide supra.**

[29] **Ibid.**

[30] "Sisters Servants in Saskatchewan", **op. cit.**, p. 182.

[31] News Item in the **Ukrayinski Visty (Ukrainian News)**, Edmonton, Alberta, 31 (May 19, 1958), pp. 2 and 5.

[32] News Item in the **Yorkton Enterprise**, 63 (May 15, 1958), pp. 9 and 10.

Conclusion

With the disappearance of official bi-lingualism in the public schools of the prairie provinces, the Ukrainian settlers attempted to circumvent the dangers of assimilation and the loss of the Ukrainian language, customs, and religious traditions by opening hostels or "bursas". These institutions fulfilled in part the ideals which they fostered but were hampered in their operation by the lack of qualified teachers and directors to lead them. In addition, they were beset by financial and administrative difficulties. The Ukrainian "bursas" or hostels continue to exist to this day alongside the various university campuses. Efforts are made to enrich the university students' program by teaching them the Ukrainian language, literature, and history, as well as allowing them to live in an atmosphere where they are made to appreciate their religious and cultural traditions as an integral part of good Canadian citizenship.

As the Ukrainian settlers became more and more interested in the education of their children, they became more and more concerned with the problem of building schools for them. It was thus that St. Joseph's College directed by the Christian Brothers and Sacred Heart Academy directed by the Ukrainian Sisters, both in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, came into being and made a substantial contribution to the education of Ukrainian Catholic youth in Western Canada. In 1958, the new Sacred Heart Academy was opened with the most modern equipment and facilities and an excellently trained staff of teaching Sisters to accommodate hundreds of Ukrainian high school girls.

The Christian Brothers are now in the planning stage for a large and modern addition to St. Joseph's College for Ukrainian high school boys. In this school, as in all their schools, the Brothers are dedicated to the Christian education of youth. This is aptly expressed by Brother Stanislaus James, F. S. C.:

> By means of religious instruction, reflections, religious services, prayers, sacraments, sound discipline, and a Catholic atmosphere, students are developed spiritually and morally; by means of an enriched high school program, including wide options in languages, sciences, Glee Club, orchestra, literary society, public speaking, campus cavalcade, yearbook, cadets, and vocational guidance, the students are developed intellectually and socially; and by means of organized sports, and cadets, they are developed physically.[33]

In 1946, when St. Joseph's College was visited by the Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, the Prime Minister said:

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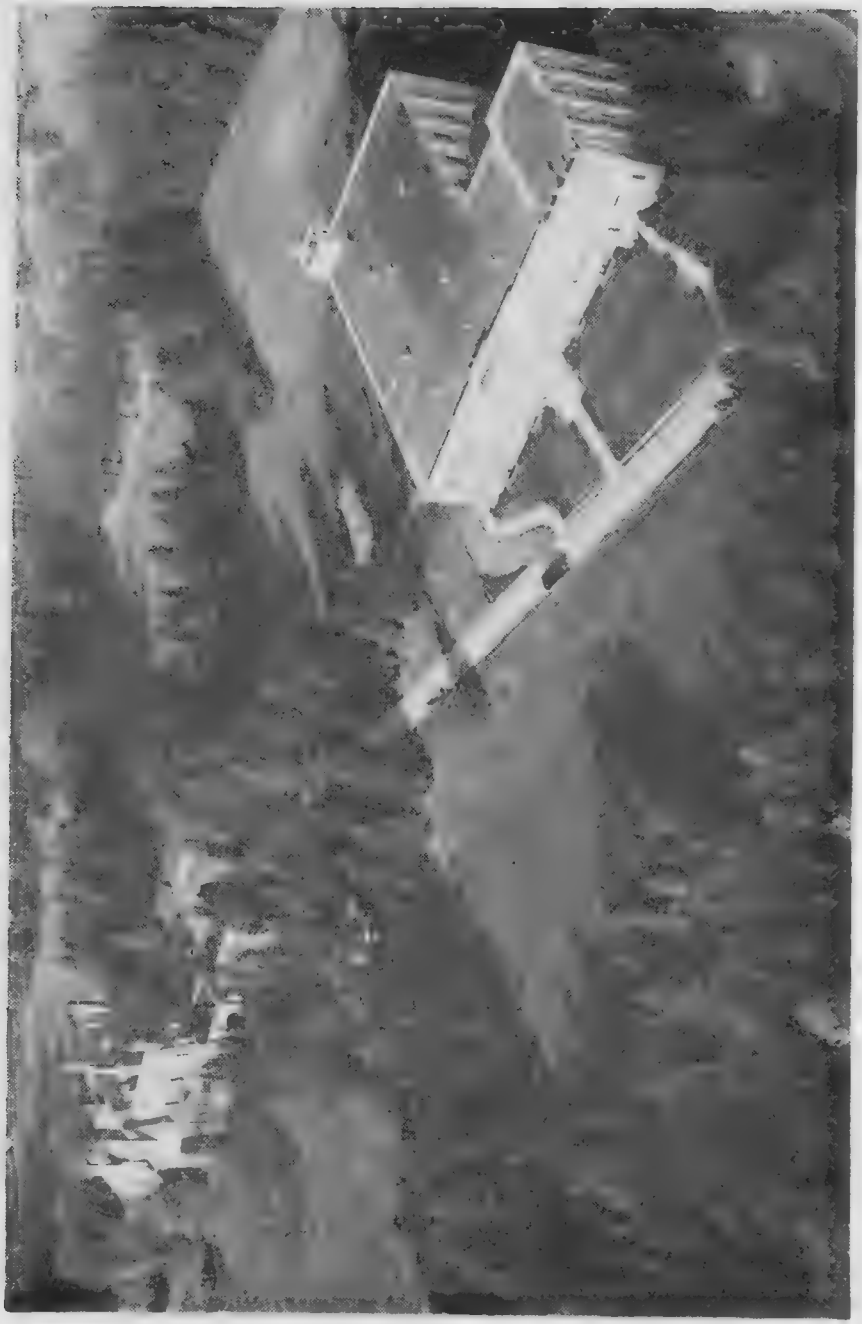
[33] Brother Stanislaus James, F. S. C., **op. cit.**, p. 21.



Mount Mary Immaculate Academy, Ancaster, Ontario

> St. Joseph's College has performed a particularly valuable funciton over the past quarter century in the training of youth of Ukrainian ancestry into loyal and useful Canadian citizens, many of whom have become leaders of the communities in which they live.[34]

St. Joseph's College, Sacred Heart Academy, and St. Nicholas School in Winnipeg are three educational institutions which were founded to meet the needs of the Ukrainian settlers and have continued to exist to this day.[35] They began their pioneering task in the most difficult of circumstances, but the heroic dedication on the part of the early founders and loyal teachers made them grow and flourish successfully. They have turned out hundreds of highly cultured young men and women who today are prominent and respected citizens of Canada and the United States.

[34] **The Yorkton Enterprise,** (May 30, 1946), 18.

[35] See Chapter III, St. Nicholas School, Winnipeg, Manitoba, p. 33.

Ukrainian Girl And Bandura

CHAPTER VII

THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE AND THE SCHOOLS

Introduction

The Ukrainian Canadians have been keenly interested in the preservation of the Ukrainian language from pioneer times until this day. The Ukrainian language was a means of fostering the national identity of the Ukrainians. It was a bridge for continuing the culture they had brought with them from Europe, and it was intimately linked with a church rite which for centuries was an external expression of the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox faiths.

In April of 1958, two briefs were presented to the Cameron Royal Commission on Education by the Ukrainian Catholics of Alberta. One dealt with the matter of opening Ukrainian Catholic Separate Schools for the purpose of preserving the Ukrainian Catholic rite[1]. The other dealt with the need of introducing the Ukrainian language as an optional language in the elementary and secondary schools.[2]

In addition to pointing out that the Ukrainian Canadians are a large minority in Alberta and that other Slavic groups living in Alberta use the Ukrainian language to a great extent, this latter brief notes the following interesting facts:

> 3. Several Canadian and American universities have recognized the importance of the Ukrainian language and have introduced it into their courses of study. Those familiar with scientific research must be able to consult scientific literature in the original language. There is a growing demand for graduates with a special knowledge of East European languages and history, coming from various Governments for services abroad as well as in our armed forces. In the

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[1] Neil N. Savaryn, O.S.B.M., Ukrainian Bishop of Edmonton, **Brief to be Presented to the Royal Commission on Education,** Edmonton, Alberta: April, 1958.

[2] Ukrainian Catholic Council of Alberta, **Brief to be Presented to the Royal Commission on Education,** Edmonton, Alberta: April, 1958.

United States, special classes in Ukrainian have been introduced for the army personnel and courses have been established in a number of universities. The study of a language is primarily a course in elementary and secondary schools. One of the functions of our elementary and secondary schools is undoubtedly to prepare students for the university. With respect to the Ukrainian language, already recognized by many universities, our elementary and secondary schools are doing very little, if anything. The university work would be greatly aided if our elementary and secondary schools provided these elementary instructions. The universities could then devote their time to more advanced studies in the training of their students.

4. As it has already been mentioned, recent articles in the Canadian press spoke about the lag in languages and about unused talents being wasted. Apart from the United States, no other country in the world has such a wealth of people with different national and ethnic backgrounds as Canada has. Proportionally with Canada, the Province of Alberta shares this advantage. Few nations, if any, have in so short a time acquired so many people with so large a store of knowledge. No other people has such a wonderful opportunity to learn foreign languages straight from those who live and breathe these languages, who would be able to teach them not just academically but with all of their life and beauty. Nevertheless, there are hundreds of frustrated and bitter people in our country who have so much to offer, be it technical, political or other fields of knowledge, but who by the limited and narrow minded outlook chosen by their host country, are condemned to live fruitless and hopeless lives while their wealth of knowledge goes irrevocably to waste. Canada should welcome the potential contribution which can accrue to our own evolving culture by encouraging these persons and groups to preserve what is best in their cultural pattern, so that they may be better prepared to make their significant endowment to the evolving Canadian pattern. Introduction of the Ukrainian language would in some respect improve this attitude.[3]

The brief presented by the Alberta Catholic Trustees Association to the same Royal Commission indicates that the Ukrainian rite is a distinctive rite in the Catholic Church and also recommends the introduction of the Ukrainian language into the curriculum.[4]

Developments in Manitoba

Although bi-lingualism in the schools was not abolished in Manitoba until March 8, 1916, opposition to such a system

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[3] **Ibid.,** pp. 9, 10.

[4] The Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association, **A Brief Prepared for Submission to the Royal Commission on Education,** Resolutions 10 and 19, pp. 12, 13. Edmonton, Alberta: April, 1958.

Costumes from Bukovina

began as early as 1911.[5] According to W. Chumer, a Ukrainian teacher of the times, opposition was felt as early as 1905.[6] In its issue of January 29, 1913, the Ukrainian Voice reported that up to that time, at least thirty articles had been published, chiefly in the Winnipeg Free Press, unfavourable to the teaching of Ukrainian in the public schools.[7]

The Ukrainians became more alarmed as the opposition grew. Not only in Manitoba, but also in Alberta and Saskatchewan, the Ukrainians realized that they would be affected by legislative restrictions imposed upon the Manitoba schools. Consequently, the Ukrainian press was continually filled with editorials in defense of bi-lingualism and the necessity of the Ukrainian language in the schools as a means of education for children of the early settlers. Organizations, delegations, and committees were formed; Ukrainian Teachers' Conventions were held, and the Ukrainian representative in the Manitoba Legislature, T. D. Ferley, defended the need for the Ukrainian language in the debates on the readings of the bill abolishing bi-lingualism in public schools in Manitoba in 1916.[8]

How seriously the Ukrainians felt about their language in the schools can be seen from the writings of Reverend Father M. Kinach, who wrote a reply to one of the editorials of the Free Press in the Canadian Ruthenian in 1913.

> ...A state which attempts to tranform all races subject to it into one nation with one language performs an unpatriotic act harmful to the whole state for it calls forth a "battle of tongues."
>
> ...A variety of languages is not the invention of human self-will, no more than the color of face which distinguishes the races... No one has created a native tongue for himself, but it is something which becomes a precious treasure and a people's sacred heritage. One's native language is the language of heart and soul, and in it is reflected the whole spiritual life of the nation with all its inherent faith, song, tradition, and history.
>
> To cut off a native language from a people is the same as cutting off a part of its soul. A state should never forcefully impose its language upon another people ...but instruct these people to see that in addition to their own language they should see the value of acquiring a knowledge of the prevailing language.

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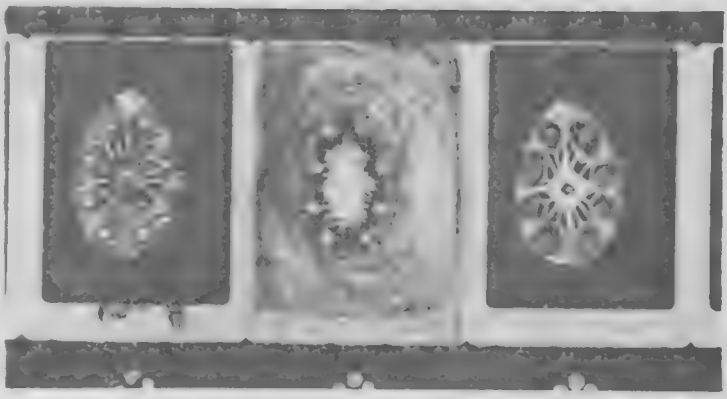
[5] J. Stechishin, **Yuvileyna Knyha Ukrayinskoho Instytutu im. P. Mohyly v Saskatooni, 1916-1941 (Jubilee Book of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon, 1916-1941)**, p. 32. Saskatoon: P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute, 1945.

[6] Interview between the writer and W. Chumer, of Edmonton, Alberta, at Edmonton, June 20, 1958.

[7] J. Stechishin, **op. cit.**, p. 32.

[8] **Ibid.**, pp. 40-42.



Ukrainian Handicrafts

Every nation, no matter how primitive, has an unassailable right to its own language. This is a natural law. An attack on the mother tongue of a man is a wrong which calls upon heaven for vengence. Legislative force in this matter will not end successfully, but on the contrary will call forth the opposite effects. What can a government legislate to destroy the language of a weaker people? School force? This is foolishness.

A state should be concerned whether all nationalities are ready to serve her wholeheartedly, willingly, and freely, but will not achieve her aims through force. The state should govern her peoples in such a way that the spark of patriotism will not die out but continue to glow. In this way all nationalities will consider the state a loving mother for all, making no distinction among its people whatever their faith or origin.

The Ukrainian people... as well as other nationalities desire to be good Canadian citizens and faithful to the ruling dynasty; they love their chosen land, but do not love their origin or language less. The Ukrainian Canadians... will always consider those who attack their nationality or language as their greatest enemies. (Translated from the Ukrainian).[9]

A tremendous amount of material has been written in the columns of the Ukrainian press from the times of the early settlers until this day in support of the Ukrainian language in the schools. The Ukrainians soon realized that it was not enough to write for the Ukrainians alone but that articles should be submitted to the English newspapers, thus enabling the general Canadian public to become acquainted with the Ukrainian problems. Often enough, this door was closed to them and after two articles by George Skwarok on the Ukrainian school problem had been refused for publication in the Winnipeg Telegram in 1913, he indignantly wrote to the Ukrainian press suggesting that some of the Ukrainian newspapers publish occasional editorials in the English language which would help communicate Ukrainian views to the English speaking public.[10] Very little came of this appeal, but the Novyny (The News), published in Edmonton, began to publish the occasional editorial in English in its pages from March 26, 1914.

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[9] M. Kinash, "Free-Pressi pid Rozwahu" (The Free Press Take Note), in the **Kanadiyski Rusyn (The Canadian Ruthenian),** Winnipeg, Manitoba. 3 (July 5, 1913), 6. (Translated from the Ukrainian).

[10] George Skwarok, Letter to the Editor of the **Kanadiyski Rusyn (The Canadian Ruthenian,** (November 3, 1913), 6.

Early Ukrainian Settlers Arriving In Canada At The Turn Of The Century

Costumes From Various Ukrainian Districts

Developments in Alberta

After the elections of April 21, 1913, the Honorable J. R. Boyle continued as Minister of Education in Alberta.[11] He had held the ministerial post since the resignation of C. R. Mitchell about a year previously. Within a month after the new elections, Minister Boyle began to cancel the teaching permits of the Ukrainian teachers in Alberta.[12] The cancellation of these permits was based on certificates of qualification required for teaching in Alberta schools. The new rulings were applicable to all Alberta teachers. The Ukrainian teachers were at a disadvantage because they were in possession of certificates granted them by the Province of Manitoba. There were about thirteen Ukrainian teachers at the time, all of the permit category, for it was not until 1916 that the first Ukrainian teacher, William Kuriets, graduated from the Normal School in Alberta.[13]

Peter Svarich, writing in the Canadian Farmer in 1912, claimed that the Ukrainians had presented the previous Minister of Education, C. R. Mitchell, with several demands. They asked for a Ukrainian seminary, a Ukrainian school organizer, the use of Ukrainian text books in the schools and other similar petitions.[14] According to Peter Svarich, the Minister of Education, faced with the demands of the English-speaking public resigned rather than compromise himself.[15] Since J. R. Boyle, who eventually succeded him, was a legislative member from the Sturgeon or North Vermilion district, well populated by Ukrainians, it was felt that he was well acquainted with their problems, and would be sympathetic in his dealings with them. For this reason, the Ukrainians were urged to vote for J. R. Boyle during the elections of 1913.[16]

The sudden action of Minister Boyle after the election in regard to permit teachers came as a surprise to most of the Ukrainians, and succeeding incidents led to many misunderstandings between the Ukrainians and the Minister of Education. At the session of the Legislature of October, 1913, Section

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[11] W. A. Chumer, **Spomyny pro Perezhyvannya Pershykh Ukrayinskykh Pereselentsiv v Kanadi, 1891-1941 (Memoirs of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada, 1891-1941)**, p. 125. Edmonton: the author, 1942.

[12] **Ibid.**

[13] **Ibid.**

[14] News Item in the **Kanadiyski Farmer (The Canadian Farmer)**, (May 3, 1912).

[15] **Ibid.**

[16] **Ibid.**

149 of the School Ordinance was altered by adding thereto the following subsections:

> (2) Any person not so qualified (namely, having a valid certificate of qualifications issued under the regulations of the Department) shall not be entitled to recover in any court of law, any remuneration for his services as such teacher.
>
> (3) Any person other than the holder of such certificates of qualification who undertakes to conduct a school as teacher shall be guilty of an offence and, on summary conviction, liable to a penalty not exceeding fifty dollars, and in default to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one month.
>
> Provided, however, that no prosecution shall be instituted under this section except on the order of the Minister.[17]

The immediate effect of the new ordinances was to place the Ukrainian teachers at a disadvantage. The qualifications and teaching certificates which they had obtained in Manitoba after graduating from the Brandon and Winnipeg training schools were now invalid in the Province of Alberta. In the same way, Ukrainian university students who were teaching in Alberta under permit classification found themselves conducting classes illegally in Alberta schools. The sudden turn of events required many adjustments. For the Ukrainian teachers, it was a question of qualifying for the standards set up by the Alberta Department of Education or leaving the schools where they had obtained teaching positions. In some school districts the people and teacher of the school district found the adjustments too difficult to accept. These districts then became trouble spots for the Department of Education.

Robert Fletcher, Supervisor of Foreign Schools, wrote an unusually long report for the year 1913 to the Minister of Education. It is filled with the hectic trials of Robert Fletcher and the Minister with the Ukrainian teachers, Ukrainian trustees, and their schools. Early in the report, the source of the problem was summarized as follows:

> Early in the year, the Ruthenian schools were raided by would-be teachers from Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The majority of these young men had a very indifferent education. Their written English was faulty in idiomatic expression, while their speech was characterized by indistinct articulation. Some of them could scarcely make themselves understood in either written or spoken English. For instance, one of them who happened to be a witness on a case in court asked for an interpreter, but when the presiding

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[17] Robert Fletcher, "Education in Foreign Settlements", **Eighth Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Province of Alberta, 1913,** pp. 44, 45. Edmonton: J. W. Jeffery, Government Printer, 1914.

magistrate learned that he was a teacher, teaching English in one of our rural schools, he refused his request with the result that his conduct as a witness was deplorable.

It soon came apparent that an organization was formed to place these young men in Ruthenian schools. It encouraged them to come from Manitoba and Saskatchewan to this province and distributed them among the various schools when they arrived here. The organization was composed of certain well-known agitators, who had ulterior motives to serve, but who, to conceal their personal desires, took advantage of the natural and praiseworthy love the Ruthenian people have for their mother tongue and agitated that Ruthenians be taught in our Ruthenian schools and that unqualified Ruthenians be allowed to teach, just as, they said, Ruthenians with low grade certificates are allowed to teach their own language part of the time in Ruthenian schools of Manitoba. Your department, anticipating the conduct of this organization, immediately ruled that only qualified teachers, regardless of nationality, be allowed to take charge of schools under my supervision, so long as any were available, and instructed me to make this ruling effective.[18]

Following his appraisal of the problem, Robert Fletcher reported his difficulties in each of the individual schools. In each and every case, the pattern of action was almost identical. The school was visited by R. Fletcher. After suitable warnings which were ignored by the Ukrainians, the Department of Education appointed R. Fletcher official trustee of the school. Immediately a qualified teacher was placed in the school in spite of the protests of the people.[19] The following extract from the report of R. Fletcher is an example:

> The next school I visited was Kolomea which is also close to Mundare. I made the same request and gave the same warning to this board but they refused to make a change of teachers. I reported their refusal to the department and was promptly appointed official trustee of the district. I placed a qualified teacher in charge of the school immediately. The board of trustees visited the department to protest against my conduct, but my action was sustained.[20]

The teacher replaced at the Kolomea school was John Genyk, a second year arts student from the University of Manitoba. Although John Genyk did not possess the necessary qualifications for teaching in Alberta, the Ukrainians felt that he was excellently qualified for their needs. It was difficult for the Ukrainians to see why the same teachers were recognized as qualified in Manitoba but lacking in qualification in Alberta. The Ukrainian press felt that the Ukrainian teachers in Alber-

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[18] **Ibid.**, pp. 39-41.

[19] **Ibid.**, pp. 39-49.

[20] **Ibid.**, p. 42.

ta were the objects of discrimination, while on the other hand, the Department of Education maintained that all teachers must conform to the standards required by the Province of Alberta. Empowered by the new school ordinances, the Department of Education continued with the dismissal of non-qualified Ukrainian teachers throughout the province. As a consequence, there was a feeling of resentment amongst the people settled in the Ukrainian colonies of Alberta.[21]

When an English-speaking teacher was placed in the Bukowina School which had been taught by W. Chumer, a teacher from Manitoba, the Ukrainians quietly built another school across the road and continued to place their children under the tutelage of W. Chumer.[22] Mr. Armstrong, the qualified teacher, continued to sit in an empty school from month to month on salary while the people continued to finance and support W. Chumer, the Ukrainian teacher across the way.[23]

The unexpected obstinacy and persistence of the people of the Bukowina school district compromised the position of Minister Boyle to such an extent that he felt called upon to take stronger measures. The Ukrainian and English press was filled with editorials and articles on the problem. The Edmonton Bulletin wrote:

> In Manitoba the Galicians were allowed to get control of their schools with the result that children are growing up in the province unable to speak a word of English. Mr. Boyle emphatically declared that no such state of affairs would be permitted in Alberta.
>
> "This is an English speaking province", sald Mr. Boyle, "and every Alberta boy and girl should receive a sound English education in the public schools of the province."
>
> Mr. Boyle added that there appeared to be an active organization among the Galicians to acquire control of the schools and have them conducted by Galician teachers in their own language. It was evident that strong measures on the part of the Department of Education would be required to keep control of the situation in the foreign settled districts.[24]

The stronger measures that followed brought on unusual complications. When qualified teachers were placed in schools formerly occupied by unqualified Ukrainian teachers, the Ukrainian people in the district often refused to send their children

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[21] W. Chumer, **op. cit.,** p. 125.

[22] R. Fletcher, **op. cit.,** p. 43.

[23] **Ibid.,** pp. 43, 44.

[24] News Item "Control of Ruthenian Schools in Alberta Must be Firmly Maintained", in the **Edmonton Bulletin,** (August 20, 1913).

to school. One such teacher was beaten by a group of masked women and driven from the school. In some districts the Ukrainians who were not pleased with a newly appointed teacher refused to pay the school taxes levied upon them. The Supervisor of Foreign Schools was then obliged to recover the taxes by distraint of chattels. In one case where the husband was away, the Supervisor, R. Fletcher, while seizing a horse, was

Typical Ukrainian Women's Costume From Poltava

resisted forcibly by the wife left at home. Suits, court orders, judgments, fines, and imprisonments followed one upon another. The wide series of incidents as described by W. Chumer in his *Memoirs* brought the Liberal newspapers, such as the Edmonton Bulletin, the Capital, and the Vegreville Observer, into the campaign in defense of Minister Boyle's policies.[25]

The policies of the Minister of Education were bitterly criticized by articles in the Ukrainian press. The Conservative opposition accused the Minister of being dictatorial and politically intolerant.[26] One group of Ukrainians revealed their resentment in a painting of the Last Judgment which showed the Minister suffering in hell.[27]

Roman Kremar, editor of the Nowyny, published weekly in Edmonton, was one of Minister Boyle's public adversaries. His attacks on the Minister of Education were irritating to the English press as well as the Department of Education. To avoid misunderstandings he began to publish editorials in the English language in his Ukrainian newspaper, the Nowyny, to show what he considered to be the Ukrainian point of view to English readers. In an editorial of April 2, 1914, he complained that the Ukrainians were interested in qualified teachers for their schools, and that the cause of poor educational opportunities for Ukrainian children and teachers in Alberta was the responsibility of Minister Boyle.

> Ruthenians do not want unqualified teachers. Ruthenians demand qualified teachers...
>
> What the trustees have stated to Mr. Boyle is that in Manitoba there are qualified Ruthenian teachers because the Manitoba govenrment really cares for the education of Ruthenian children, while in Alberta there is not one Ruthenian teacher educated in this province. And this statement was made after Mr. Boyle made a promise that his department will turn out its first batch of Ruthenian teachers in six years hence...
>
> The fact that in Alberta there is not one Ruthenian boy or girl in any college, and as far as we know only one boy in a high school, is certainly a very eloquent proof of "superiority" of "educational policy" of Mr. Boyle, over that of Manitoba where there are hundreds of university and college students of Ruthenian parentage.[28]

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[25] W. Chumer, **op. cit.**, pp. 125-143.

[26] **Ibid.**, p. 126.

[27] Archives of Father J. Jean, O.S.B.M., **The School Question**, p. 36.

[28] Editorial, "Mr. Boyle and Ruthenian Trustees", in the **Novyny (The News)**, 2 (April 2, 1914), 1.

E. B. Thompson of Ottawa, a writer well acquainted with the Ukrainian problems in the West, wrote a syndicated column for thirty daily newspapers in Canada and the United States and rose in defense of the Ukrainians. His criticism of Minister Boyle and his policies was published in the pages of the Boston Transcript of September 20, 1913, and was later reprinted in the pages of the Canadian Ruthenian.

The latter times have allowed Boyle to show the whole length of his unbelievably long ears. Up to now, the majority of the Ukrainians of Alberta voted Liberal in the provincial and federal elections. If properly guided, there is a sufficient number of them to return the province to the Conservatives. Boyle has attacked their schools which were wisely conducted by the Ukrainian bi-lingual teachers. These are teachers who have been trained for three years in the English Normal schools; teachers who without doubt are better qualified to teach the Ukrainian children the English language than the one-language teachers. It is common knowledge over the whole West that the Ukrainians are most anxious to have their children study English; that they quickly accustom themselves to the Canadian way of life and that they are extremely and sincerely grateful to Canada for the gift of freedom and land. There are no immigrants in Canada who are more intelligent or harder working than they are.

They themselves have arranged for and still desire to hire well trained bi-lingual Ukrainian teachers. But this does not satisfy leather-headed Boyle. He proposes to force the well trained Ukrainian bi-lingual teachers to make room for the one-language English teachers. His game is apparently calculated to please such organizations of non-Ukrainian nationalists who dislike the Ukrainians because of their industry, skill, good norms, prosperity, or simply because they are "foreigners."

A foolish conviction continues to exist that such people as the Ukrainians must be "reformed" by forced anglicizing and hurrying up the process by which they would finally speak one language — English. Although it is true that the circumstances of existence urge them to master the English language as soon as possible, it is also true that such knowledge comes more quickly through their social contacts at work and at play than by any other means.

The longer they continue to know two languages, i. e., a knowledge of their mother tongue as well as English, the more readily can they be called intelligent and better educated. The longer they remain Ukrainian, or French, or German, or Scandinavian, whatever the case may be, the longer shall they retain that feeling of good breeding and charm which we see is disappearing amongst them the more they anglicize, canadianize, or americanize themselves. In the West, I had the opportunity to talk with a large number of Ukrainians from various classes and age groups. There is no nationality on those unmeasurable expanses who are more pleasing, nor

any nationality whose children are educated under such fine norms. (Translated from the Ukrainian).[29]

Lord Tweedsmuir, former Governor General of Canada, speaking to the Ukrainians of Fraserwood, Manitoba, on September 21, 1936, said:

> You have become good Canadians... The Ukrainian element amongst others is a very valuable contribution to our new Canada... I would wish that you remember your old Ukrainian traditions, handicrafts, your folk songs, dances, as well as your national legends. I do not believe that any nationality can become strong if it does not remember and preserve contact with its past. Your traditions are all valuable contributions to Canadian culture... You will all be better Canadians by also being good Ukrainians. (Translated from the Ukrainian).[30]

Conclusion

Except for a relatively small and insignificant group of Ukrainian Russophiles, the Ukrainians were convinced that the only solution to the proper education of Ukrainian children during pioneering times was through the use or partial use of the Ukrainian language in the schools. Therefore the majority of the Ukrainians did all in their power to preserve it. In the resolutions of the Ukrainian Teachers' Convention held in Winnipeg in 1909, the teachers condemned any attempt to deprive them or the Ukrainian children in the schools of the right to their own language as an instrument of education.

> We believe that to defend our mother tongue, for which our forefathers shed their blood centuries age is our divine duty, and that we would use all our political influence to retain the present bi-lingual system. We value very highly the British flag, and we are willing to defend it at any time or occasion whatever, but we would like to see respect to our native tongue.[31]

Theodore Stefanik, the Ukrainian school inspector of Manitoba, who opened the convention of 1909 in Winnipeg, reported on the number of schools in his inspectorate and the large number of Ukrainian children.

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[29] E. B. Thompson, "Ukrayintsi v Alberti" (The Ukrainians in Alberta), News Item in the **Canadian Ruthenian,** 3 (November 8, 1913), 4.

[30] N. Savaryn, "Piadesiat Lit v Kanadi" (Fifty Years in Canada), **Yuvileyny Kalendar Ukrayintskoi Rodyny, 1941 (Jubilee Calendar-Almanac of the Ukrainian Family, 1941),** p. 67. Mundare, Alberta: Basilian Fathers, 1941.

[31] News Item, "Ukrainians Urge Bi-Lingual Schools", in the **Winnipeg Free Press,** (July 17, 1909).

He reported that there were already 61 organized schools, 58 of them having buildings. He expects to organize 40 more schools. Last year 31 teachers were engaged, and about 2000 Ukrainian children were in attendance.

He complained that he could not visit all the schools, because the grant for the purpose was not sufficient. Also it was stated that he was told by the English inspectors, who visited the Ukrainian schools, that they had great pleasure in hearing the children read English as well as their own language, and that they admired the progress of the pupils in both languages.[32]

The strict application of the school law to Alberta teachers by the Minister of Education, J. R. Boyle, affected the Ukrainian teachers in the province adversely. The Ukrainian teachers, unable to meet the new standards for qualifications set up by the Province of Alberta, were required to leave their schools whether they were in session or not. In many of the school districts, the Ukrainian teachers left their schools unwillingly, and in some cases the Ukrainian rate-payers felt that they could hold on to the Ukrainian teacher by organizing representations and delegations to the Department of Education, or by making an issue of the problem. In each case, however, the school law was eventually upheld, and the various school districts concerned began to take on the form required of them.

In the case of Fletcher versus Kutcher, held in District Court of the District of Edmonton, March 30, 1914, Judge Crawford, in passing oral judgment on the defendant, said:

...The Supervisor of Foreign Schools, as he is called, went out from the Department of Education, and objected to the District having for their teacher Mr. Chumer, who was then in charge. Mr. Chumer, who is a man who impressed me very favorably, seems to be bright, intelligent and of honest disposition: but the Department, under the powers conferred upon it by the Act, interfered...

Now it is the duty of the Judge, not to make the law, but to interpret it, and, as far as in him lies, to administer it; and although it is not always administered to its strict letter, I understand his duty to be to construe it in the majority of cases according to its true spirit. The people of this Province have passed the Act, and the provisions of it are clear, and no judge can overrule those provisions. He must interpret them according to their plain ordinary meaning. A judge is only one man, and the Legislature is composed of many, and no judge has the right to set up his single and individual opinion as against all the men composing a Legislature as to the advisability of the legislation that they have passed.[33]

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[32] **Ibid.**

[33] W. Chumer, **op. cit.**, pp. 137, 138.

Ukrainian Dancers

In 1913, the Manitoba Minister of Education, G. R. Coldwell, while speaking before the Synod of the Anglican Church, had this to say about the Ukrainians.

> I take the liberty to appeal to the synod to act according to British principle and respect in so far as is possible the befitting demands and feelings of these people and to treat them with that understanding which they themselves would desire if you were in their country.
>
> You cannot ride over these people no more than you can ride over the British. At first you must win their confidence, and then you may do any good you please.
>
> The method in use here was to kick these people, but this should be the last thing to do if you wish them to become good Britishers. Approach them properly, and they will appreciate British order and customs and be convinced that they are for their good. They are progressing forward in an unusually noticeable manner, and the time will come when we will have to work hard to keep up with them.
>
> I protest against the assimilation of these people by force.[34]

The past sixty years have indicated that the Ukrainians are good and loyal Canadian citizens who are proud of their mother tongue. They have won distinct accomplishments as an agricultural people, served community interests well and faithfully, and have an excellent war record. Their cultural contribution to the Canadian way of life should continue for many more years to come.

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[34] **Ibid.**, p. 156.

CHAPTER VIII

THE UKRAINIAN TEACHERS AND THE SCHOOLS

Introduction

It is surprising how quickly the Ukrainians became interested in education and in the schooling of their children. As soon as they had satisfied the immediate needs for self-preservation on their farms their children were attending schools. Earlier, it was shown that by 1915, there were about 400 "Ukrainian schools" in operation in Western Canada.[1] In addition, it has been shown that prior to 1916, there were about 150 Ukrainian teachers in Manitoba, about 80 in Saskatchewan, and 13 in Alberta at the beginning of 1913. It may be safe to assume that up to 1916 there were from 200 to 250 Ukrainian teachers teaching in the western provinces. The Ukrainian teacher situation stood best in Manitoba because it permitted bi-lingualism in the province up to 1916. Then again the same province provided training schools for Ukrainian students, as at Brandon, which supplied a growing number of Ukrainian teachers.

The Ukrainian - English Readers

The first contact Ukrainian children had with the English language was in the schools. The Ukrainian teachers felt that the only educational approach to these children was partly through the Ukrainian language. They considered that the reading of English phonetic sounds was a waste of time without a proper explanation of the meaning of these sounds. To help them in their work of teaching English, the Ukrainian teachers wanted a reader which offered the English text paralleled by a Ukrainian translation of the same text. They also felt that they themselves should be thoroughly grounded in a knowledge of

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[1] Chapter V, p. 53.

the Ukrainian language as a part of their education in the training schools.

As early as 1909, the Annual Ukrainian Teachers' Convention, which was held in Winnipeg, July 13 and 14, passed resolutions calling upon the Department of Education to provide Ukrainian texts for the Brandon training school as well as Ukrainian elementary books for schools where the majority of rate-payers were Ukrainians.[2]

> We, the Ukrainian-English teachers, pray the Department of Education to provide the Ukrainian books for the training school at Brandon according to the agreement.
>
> (a) We further request the Department of Education to open the Normal School at Winnipeg from July 5, 1910.
>
> (b) To grant the Ukrainian elementary books for the schools where the majority of rate-payers are Ukrainians.
>
> (c) The students attending the training school at Brandon should be compelled to pass the examination in the Ukrainian language as well as in the English.
>
> (d) To accept 5 to 10 Ukrainian students to replace those who left the above mentioned school.[3]

In 1913, the Government of Manitoba published the first Ukrainian-English reader which contained an English text on one page and the equivalent Ukrainian translation by Michael Stechishin on the other.[4]

A second reader was printed in 1914, which was published and never distributed to the schools for use, probably because of the strained relations which had developed over the bi-lingual problem.[5] These readers were called The Manitoba-Ruthenian Readers, First Reader (or Second Reader), Approved by the Advisory Board for use in the Public Schools of Manitoba, and were published by Thomas Nelson and Sons, London, Edinburgh, Dublin and New York.[6] Another reader which was used by the Ukrainian school children of Manitoba was the Ukrainian Primer prepared by the school organizer, Paul Gigeychuk.

In Alberta the Ukrainian Trustees' Convention held in Vegreville on February 15, 1912, passed resolutions which

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[2] News Item, "Ukrainians Urge Bi-Lingual Schools" in the **Winnipeg Free Press,** (July 17, 1909).

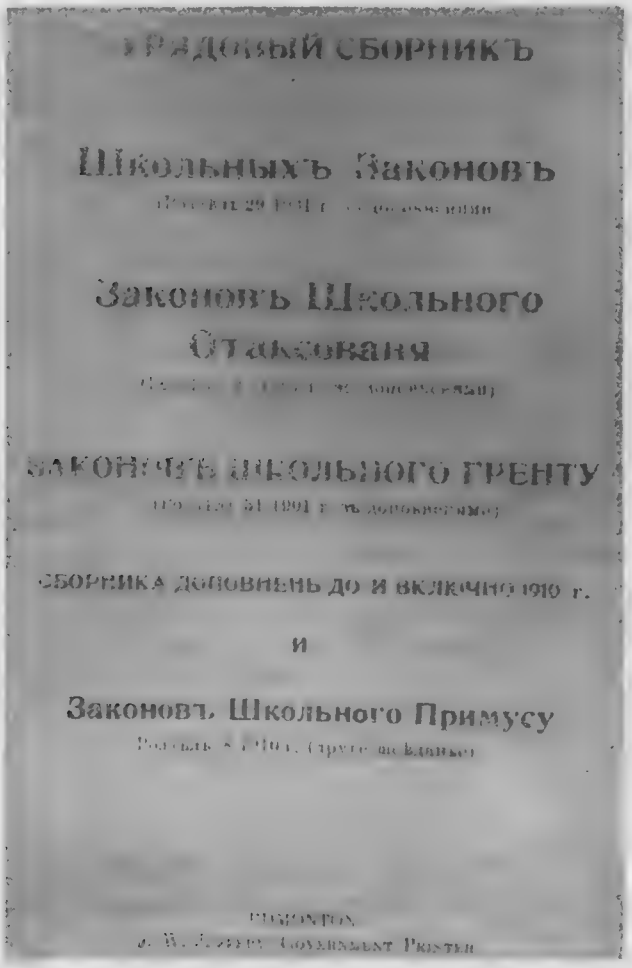
[3] **Ibid.**

[4] J. Stechishin, **Yuvileyna Knyha Ukrainskoho Instytutu im. P. Mohyly v Saskatooni, 1916-1941 (Jubilee Book of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon, 1916-1941),** p. 34. Saskatoon: P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute, 1945.

[5] **Ibid.**

[6] **Ibid.,** p. 39.

sought a translation of the school act in the Ukrainian language.[7] Such a school act was actually published in 1914 by J. W. Jeffery, Government Printer in Edmonton. This ninety-


УРЯДОВИЙ СБОРНИКЪ

Школьныхъ Законовъ

Законовъ Школьного Отаксованя

ЗАКОНЪ ЧЕТЬ ШКОЛЬНОГО ГРЕНТУ

СБОРНИКА ДОПОВНЕНЬ ДО И ВКЛЮЧНО 1910 г.

И

Законовъ Школьного Примусу

EDMONTON

J. W. JEFFERY, GOVERNMENT PRINTER

The School Act, The School Attendance Act, Etc., Published By The Alberta Government For Ukrainian Settlers, 1914

five page publication was a translation of the School Act, School Taxes Act, School Grants Act, School Attendance Act, as well as Amendments and Additions up to and including the

[7] **Ibid.**, p. 34.

year 1910.[8] Because the language used was not pure Ukrainian, but a mixture of Ukrainian and Russian, the translation was found unsatisfactory by the Ukrainian public.[9]

In an interview with Peter Svarich of Vegreville, who had been originally assigned to the Ukrainian translation, it was stated that this had been done with the cooperation of Jacob Kret, and others, for the sum of $500.00, but a new translation was made by A. Shandro, with the cooperation of Michael Cherniak, Michael Ostrowsky, and Hladyk, at a cost of $2,000.00. It was this latter work which eventually became published and won the disapproval of the Ukrainian public.[10*]

Another interesting reader was the work of Peter Svarich of Vegreville, who translated Primer A of the Alexandra series of readers into Ukrainian for the use of the Ukrainian children in the schools in the year 1911.[11] This little work of sixty-four pages was called: An Aid for Young Scholars, for use in beginners' classes in Alberta and Saskatchewan, a literal translation from the English of Primer A.[12*]

This Ukrainian reader which faithfully followed each page of the original reader in translation became a boon to many teachers who were having difficulty in teaching reading to the Ukrainian children. It was bought up not only by the Ukrainian teachers but also by the one-language English teachers. The latter encouraged the children to take the Ukrainian reader home along with the reader authorised by the Department of Education. As the child read his lesson at home in English the parents followed the child with the Ukrainian text explaining whatever was not clear to the child in Ukrainian.[13] In this way the parents also learned to speak English.

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[8] A copy of the translated School Act, etc., may be found in the Archives of Father J. Jean, O.S.B.M., Mundare, Alberta.

[9] J. Stechishin, **op. cit.**, p. 34.

[10] Interview between the writer and Peter Svarich of Vegreville, Alberta, at Vegreville, Alberta, March 25, 1957.

* Reference is made to the same in the Calendar-Almanac of the Canadian Ruthenian. p. 38. Winnipeg: 1916.

[11] Interview between the writer and Peter Svarich of Vegreville, Alberta, at Vegreville, March 25, 1957.

[12] J. Stechishin, **op. cit.**, p. 32.

* This book may be examined at the Basilian Fathers Library, Mundare, Alberta.

[13] Interview between the writer and Peter Svarich of Vegreville, Alberta, at Vegreville, March 25, 1957.

The Ukrainian Teachers' Conventions

In Manitoba one of the first Ukrainian teachers' conventions was held in Winnipeg on June 5, 1907, with an attendance of about thirty-eight teachers.[14] These conventions became annual affairs and continued up to the abolition of bi-lingualism in Manitoba in 1916. The Winnipeg Free Press gave a complete account of the activities and resolutions of the July 13 and 14 Convention held in Winnipeg in 1909. Amongst other things, the teachers reported on their progress in the schools.

> The teachers next gave their reports of the progress made among their people. They stated that after much work they were successful in making the children progressive in both languages. Great attention was paid to reading, spelling, pronunciation, and the other subjects were taken step by step. Some of them were complaining of uncomfortable dwellings and low salaries, especially in Stuartburn municipality, where the salary is $350 to $400 per annum.[15]

The July 11 and 12 Convention of 1913 in Winnipeg considered the teaching of the Ukrainian language as well as English to Ukrainian children, and showed its appreciation of the government's defense of bi-lingualism and opening of the Brandon training school for Ukrainian teachers. In addition, it elected a delegation which was to meet the Minister of Education in the matter of obtaining a teacher of Ukrainian for the Brandon school.[16] The July 16 and 17 Convention of 1914 in Winnipeg was attended by about fifty-seven teachers.[17]

It is of interest to note the program scheduled for the July 16 and 17 Convention of 1914, which was held in the Normal School on Williams Avenue in Winnipeg. It reveals a busy schedule and cooperation with officials representing the Department of Education.

Winnipeg Convention Program, 1914

July 16, 9:30 a. m.

1) Reports from the executive;
2 Election of praesidium for the duration of the Convention;

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[14] M. Stechishin, "Nashe Shkilnytstvo" (Our Schools), **Narodny Kalendar Ukrayinska Rodyna (The People's Calendar-Almanac for the Ukrainian Family)**, p. 153. Winnipeg, Manitoba: 1915.

[15] News Item, "Ukrainians Urge Bi-Lingual Schools" in the **Winnipeg Free Press**, (July 17, 1909).

[16] J. Stechishin, **op. cit.**, p. 33.

[17] From a photograph in the **Illustrovany Kalendar Novyn, 1915, (Illustrated Calendar-Almanac of the News, 1915)**, p. 37. Edmonton, Alberta.

3) Opening of the Convention:
   a) Hon. G. R. Coldwell, Minister of Education,
   b) R. Fletcher, Deputy Minister of Education.
4) Address of F. H. Belton, Inspector of Schools.

Second Session 2:00 p. m.

5) Address of E. E. Best, school inspector;
6) Education and the Ideal Teacher — an address by W. Smuk;
7) A School Matter by P. Gigeychuk;
8) Textbooks — by K. Prodan;
9) The Matter of the Teachers' Journal.

July 17, 9:30 a. m.

10) Address by A. L. Young, school inspector;
11) The Duties of the Teacher in Regard to Politics—M. Stechishin.

Second Session 2:00 p. m.

12) Teaching of English to the Foreigners — W. Mihaychuk;
13) Election of Executive for 1914-1915.[18]

In Saskatchewan, the Ukrainian teachers began holding their conventions in the spring of 1912.[19] In 1913, a convention was held in Rosthern with about fifty teachers in attendance.[20] Here they resolved to obtain concessions in regard to the Ukrainian language, requested Ukrainian text books, and a professor of Ukrainian for the Regina training school for foreigners.[21]

In Alberta, the Ukrainian teachers were slower in getting underway with their convention, but the Ukrainian school trustees of Alberta held their own convention as early as

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[18] News Item, "Teachers' Convention" in the **Novyny (The News)**, 2 (April 2, 1914), 1.

[19] J. Stechishin, **op. cit.**, p. 35.

[20] **Ibid.**

[21] **Ibid.**

First Ukrainian Teachers' Convention in Winnipeg, Manitoba, June 5, 1907 Left to right, front row: Yakimischuk, Kotsan, Zaporozan, T. D. Ferley, Orest Zerebko, P, Woycenko. Second row: Dedeliuk, Arsenych, Hrushovy, Ogryzlo, Ostapowich, Holowacky, Tschaikowsky, A. Novak. Third row: W. Kudryk, Pliatsko, Hawryliuk, Gigeychuk, Saranchuk, W. Chumer, J. Koltyk. Fourth row: Mayewsky, Petryshyn, Smuk, Kunensky, Hykawy, Klymkiw, W. Kohut. Fifth row: Litwin, Drabyniasty, Wowk, T. Stefanyk (later organizer of schools), Machny, Samotiuk, Sholdra, Homonilowych. Missing: Karpech, Kolodzinsky, George Roshko, Graban, and M. Basarobowych,

First Ukrainian Teachers' Convention in Alberta, Edmonton, July, 1917 From left to right, front row: Panko Fedirchuk, M. Yakowyshyn, N. Budensky, Elias Shklanka, John Hrynchyshyn. Middle Row: Nancy Melnyk (future Mrs. John Ruryk), Alex Gregorovich, Stella Melnyk (future Mrs. Elias Poraiko), Michael Luchkowich, Mrs. T. Tomashewska, Theodore Kibzey, John Orobko (later one of Alberta's great physicians-surgeons). Top Row: S. B. Mykytiuk, Wasyl Franchuk, Mike Goshko, Stephen Philip, Wasyl Hrytsiuk, Harry A. Kostash (later first Ukrainian superintendent of schools in Alberta), John Ruryk.

February 15, 1912, in Vegreville, where a request for a translation of the School Act, a Ukrainian school organizer, and a Ukrainian teacher training school with a professor of Ukrainian on the staff of such a school was presented to the government.[22]

In Alberta, the first Ukrainian Teachers' Convention was held in Edmonton in July, 1917 attended by about nineteen teachers and students.[23]* Among these were E. Shklanka, well-known Ukrainian Canadian writer and author, Harry Kostash, present Superintendent of Schools in the Smoky Lake Division,

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[22] **Ibid.**, p. 34.

[23] W. Chumer, **Spomyny pro Perezhyvannya Pershykh Ukrayinskyhk Pereselentsiv v Kanadi, 1891-1941 (Memoirs of the Experiences of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada, 1891-1941),** p. 75. Edmonton: the author, 1942.

* In an interview with W. Chumer, the date 1915 was stated to be incorrect. Mr. Chumer indicated that the correct date is 1917.

M. Luchkowich, later to become the first Ukrainian citizens ative to the federal Parliament, and the late Dr. John Orobko, who became recognized as one of Alberta's great physicians and surgeons.[24] In 1913-1914, a committee of Ukrainian citizens and teachers was formed for the promotion of the Ukrainian language, and this group presented its findings and requests to J. R. Boyle, the Minister of Education and to the Liberal Government.[25]

At their conventions, the Ukrainian teachers dealt with school problems, educational policies, status of teachers, and the use of the Ukrainian language as a means of instruction amongst Ukrainian children. In the early twenties, a Ukrainian Teachers' Association was formed in Edmonton, which included teachers of nearly seventy Ukrainian school districts in Alberta. Conventions were held annually in Edmonton. The secretary of this group for many years was Elias Kiriak. Since these early times the Ukrainian teachers have continued to hold their conventions in the Western provinces. The proceedings of the Ukrainian Teachers' Convention held at Mundare on November 16, 1940, have been preserved in a thirty-six page booklet published by the Basilian Fathers at Mundare, Alberta.[26] In latter years one of the more successful conventions was held in Edmonton on April 8, 1953, under the auspices of the Ukrainian Catholic Teachers of Alberta.[27] Ukrainian teachers representing Northeastern Alberta attended this convention and prepared a varied exhibition of school children's handicrafts: leather, copper and iron, woodwork, carving, sewing, and other school works, including a press display. At an evening concert presented by the teachers and their pupils from various points in Alberta, such as Vegreville, Mundare, Radway, Lamont, Andrew, Chipman, Smoky Lake, Vilna, Holden, and Edmonton, tumbling displays, folk dancing, choirs, choral work, rhythm bands, etc., were featured. Dr. J. W. Gilles, of the Faculty of Education of the University of Alberta, Harry Kostash, Superintendent of Schools of the Smoky Lake Division, and Dr. N. Strilchuk of Mundare, Alberta, were introduced as guest speakers.

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[24] **Ibid.**

[25] **Ibid.**, p. 128.

[26] **Report of the Proceedings and Addresses of the Ukrainian Teachers' Convention at Mundare, Alberta, November 16, 1940.** Mundare: Basilian Fathers, 1940.

[27] Organized by the writer in 1953.

The Work of the Ukrainian Teachers

It has been mentioned that many of the early Ukrainian teachers were of the permit category, but this does not exclude the fact that some of them had completed higher studies in Ukraine. A few of the part time Ukrainian teachers were students attending Canadian universities. In Saskatchewan, where such a teacher was not fully qualified by the Department of Education, he was tolerated and encouraged to continue his studies for certification.[28] Some of these teachers, having arrived from Eastern Europe, could speak English, Polish, Ukrainian, German or other languages and were able to find schools where the district was populated with a mixture of European newcomers.[29]

The children of the Ukrainian pioneers showed promise in spite of their language handicap, and when teachers were available, they made the most of their educational opportunities. In his report of 1909, Inspector Ball of Saskatchewan wrote

> There is no type of school which shows so hopeful a prospect of ultimate excellence.
>
> The attendance at the schools in charge of Ruthenian teachers shows the largest average percentage of all the rural schools in my division.[30]

According to John M. MacEachran's "History of Education in Alberta", Ukrainian children were unusually obedient, and teachers found it a pleasure to teach them. If they were not too quick at sport or play in the pioneer days it was possibly a reflection of the serious side of their lives at home where parents were hard at work from day break until late in the evening in their attempts to master the unbroken country which was now their home. The children performed long arduous chores at home before they went to school, and they were expected to do many hours of physical work after they got home. A report of an Alberta school inspector in 1907 states:

> The work done in the schools in the Ruthenian dictricts is very encouraging and should be a source of considerable gratification to the Department of Education. There were nine schools in operation in this inspectorate this year where none but Galician, Bukowinan, or Ruthenian children attended, and six more that had a large per-

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[28] J. Stechishin, **op. cit.,** p. 35.

[29] W. Chumer, **op. cit.,** pp. 76, 77.

[30] Walter C. Murray, "History of Education in Saskatchewan", **Canada and Its Provinces,** Vol. 20, p. 460. Edited by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty. Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1914.

centage of these foreign children. In all of them, the pupils were attentive and interested and were making rapid progress in their studies. This was particularly noticeable in their number work, which they seen to grasp more readily than the average Canadian or American child. Another feature of the work which makes it very pleasant for the teacher is the ease in maintaining the discipline of the school. These children apparently never think of disobeying anything the teacher tells them. They seldom play in school or out, and in fact the teachers who are interested in their development teach them games and how to play them, during play hours.[31]

Many of the Ukrainian teachers came from humble homes in Europe. They understood that most of the Ukrainian settlers came to Canada because of adverse economic conditions in the

St. Joseph's Orphanage School, Mundare, Alberta

Ukraine. It was perhaps easier for them to put up with the hardships of living amongst a poor and struggling people. When teachers were scarce it was usually the schools of the Ukrainian districts which suffered first.

About twenty-five schools were in operation for the entire year. Several districts proposed opening school in March but were unable to secure teachers until May or June. The majority of schools remaining closed the whole year were in the Ruthenian and Galician settlements.[32]

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[31] John M. MacEachran, "History of Education in Alberta", **Canada and its Provinces,** Vol. 20, pp. 488-489. Edited by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty. Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1914.

[32] H. R. Parker, **Seventh Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Province of Alberta, 1912,** p. 51. Edmonton: J. W. Jeffery, Government Printer, 1913.

Where the Ukrainian teachers did not use or teach the Ukrainian language during school hours, many of them gave time to the teaching of Ukrainian to the children after school hours. This was especially true in Alberta and Saskatchewan which had no provision for a bi-lingual systems. They were fond of presenting concerts, and often such enterprises were offered at Christmas, on the occasion of a church dignitary's visit, or in honour of the poet of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko.

As the Ukrainian children became more familiar with the English language progress in the school became more discernible.

> About half the schools in this inspectorate are purely Ruthenian schools and in a number of others the Ruthenian element predominates... In some of the Ruthenian schools the progress is quite surprising... At the begining of the year there were in this inspectorate 135 rural and village districts.[33]

The chore of teaching new Canadian children the English language in addition to all the other subjects of the curriculum must have been a formidable one. There were many sincere and devoted teachers who used all the skill and ingenuity at their command and produced good results. A few had less success, possibly because of difficulties for which they had not been prepared.

> Teachers who have received their professional training in the eastern provinces of Canada and have at least a few years' experience there, find it difficult, apparently, to adapt themselves to western conditions. The effort required for a careful reading of and for a practical working knowledge of the Alberta curriculum appears to be too strenuous for them. There is a tendency prevalent among eastern teachers of more or less experience to rest upon their laurels won in the east, and to reap in the west, where salaries are good and vacancies are many, the harvest of their previous hard and laborious efforts where conditions were not so pleasant...[34]

If the early Ukrainian teachers were drawn into conflict with the politics, policies, and statements of the Canadian press of the time, it was a natural and instinctive urge to defend what they considered their inalienable rights. One cannot readily blame them for resenting such statements as:

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[33] J. C. Butchart, **Sixth Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Province of Alberta, 1911,** p. 57. Edmonton: J. A. Richards, Government Printer, 1912.

[34] F. L. Aylesworthy, **Ibid.,** p. 62.

> Whoever does not like school conducted in the English language may pack his bags and return to the place he came from,[35]
> or
> Political recalcitrancy will be treated with increasing doses of the English language.[36]

These first Ukrainian teachers were the roots of the future Ukrainian intelligentsia. The Ukrainian press reminded them that they were the representatives of the Ukrainian Canadian public, and that theirs was a dedicated task.[37] The humble beginnings of educational growth in the Ukrainians could hardly foresee that in 1958, less than fifty years later, there would be about 2000 Ukrainian students attending Canadian universities.[38]

Ukrainian School Names

After the Ukrainian settlers established their homes in the West, towns began to spring up on newly developed sites which were given Ukrainian names. There are very many of these Ukrainian place names dotting the maps of the prairie provinces. In that same way, as schools began to be organized throughout the Ukrainian districts, the early settlers, when permitted, began to name them after places, territories, rivers, or historical figures of the Ukraine. Of the four hundred or so Ukrainian schools in Western Canada, a large number received Ukrainian names. It was natural for the Ukrainians to feel resentful when names like Moscow, south of Mundare, Alberta, and Togo in honor of the Japanese admiral of the First World War were given to shools in their districts.[39] Most Ukrainians have always considered Russia a traditional enemy, and the name Togo was of no significance to them.

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[35] News Item in the **Winnipeg Free Press,** (July 29, 1914) as found in J. Stechishin, **op. cit.,** p. 36.

[36] Archives of Father J. Jean, O.S.B.M., **The School Question,** p. 36. Mundare, Alberta.

[37] O. Zerebko, "Ukrayinski Uchetelski Seminariyi v Kanadi" (The Ukrainian Teachers' Seminaries in Canada), **Illustrovany Narodny Kalen dar Tovarystva Prosvity (The Illustrated People's Calendar-Almanac of the Enlightenment Society),** p. 162. Lviw: Prosvita Society, 1914.

[38] Dr. W. Kysylewsky, "U Kanadyskykh Universytetakh ye Kolo Dvi Tysiachi Ukrayinskykh Studentiw" (About Two Thousand Ukrainian Students in the Canadian Universities), News Item in the **Ukrayinski Visty (Ukrainian News),** 31 (June 9, 1958), 2, 4.

[39] Interview between the writer and Peter Svarich of Vegreville, Alberta, at Vegreville, March 25, 1957.

As early as 1910, J. Badersky, school organizer for Manitoba, reported that of eighty-two schools in Manitoba, thirty-three had Ukrainian names.[40] The following samples are some of the Ukrainian school names as found in Alberta. Listed too are some of the Ukrainian school names of Manitoba.[41] Many additional ones can be found in Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Manitoba, and some are common to each of the three provinces.

Schools named after Ukrainian place names: Bachman,* Bendery, Borschiw, Brody, Buchach, Bukowina, Chernowci, Halich, Jaroslaw, Kalush, Kiev, Kolomea,* Komarno, Koroliwka, Kossiw, Krasne, Krasnohora, Layniuk, Lemberg, Leszniw, Lukiwci, Lwiw,* Oleskow, Melnycia, Peremysl, Radymno, Shypyntsi, Skala, Sniatyn, Stanislaw,* Stry, Stubno, Tarnopil, Terebovlia, Zaporoze, Zawale.

Schools named after Ukrainian historical names: Franko, Mazeppa, Shevchenko, Sich,* Shyptytsky, Taras, Vladimir.*

Schools named after Ukrainian territories: Bukowina,* Galicia, Podilia,* Ruthenia, Ukraina,* Volynia.

Schools named after Ukrainian rivers: Dniester,* Pruth, Toporetz, Zbruch.

Others: Ardan, Boriwci, Chernova, Chornik, Dilo, Horod, Hranko, Miroslowna, Molodia, Myroslaw, Nizir, Paraskevia, Pobida, Prosvita, Rannock, Rosa, Ruryk, Slawa, Swit, Swoboda, Volia, Zamok, Zhoda, Zophia, Zora.

With the coming of the larger consolidated school, the larger school divisions, and the rural bus circuits, the small one-room and two-room schools have virtually disappeared. With them have disappeared many of the schools bearing Ukrainian names. Today, only the fact that such schools did exist is of historical significance. Although the Ukrainian school names are disappearing, the fact remains that in the school divisions of today, where the population is predominantly Ukrainian most of the teachers are of Ukrainian descent. In the Lamont School Division of Alberta, eighty per cent and often more of the teachers are Ukrainian. In the Smoky Lake Division, the number of Ukrainian teachers often exceeds ninety per cent of the total number.[42]

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[40] Dr. B. Kazymyra, **Monsignor Adelard Langevin and Ukrainian Canadians,** p. 30. Library of Catholic Action. No. 7. Edmonton, Alberta, 1952.

[41] **Ibid.**

* **The name has been given to a school in two or more provinces.**

[42] Interview between the writer and H. Kostash, Superintendent of Schools, Smoky Lake Division, Alberta, at Smoky Lake, December 24, 1957.

Basilian Fathers' Monastery School, Mundare, Alberta

Basilian Fathers' Monastery School, Beaver Lake, Alberta

Conclusion

After the Ukrainian settlers had established an economic foothold on their new lands, schools began to be organized in the newly developed areas with surprising rapidity. The increasing number of Ukrainian schools, the shortage of teachers, and the fact that the one-language English teacher was not anxious to go into the Ukrainian districts prepared the way for a growing demand for the Ukrainian teacher. During the year 1912, 453 teachers from the other provinces of Canada came to Alberta and were granted standing.[43]. In the same year, 147 teachers from Scotland, Ireland, England, and Wales were granted standing upon their arrival in Alberta.[44] This large influx of 600 teachers from outside Alberta in the one year suggests educational instability in the province at the time.

One can imagine the difficulty the new teacher from Wales or Scotland would have teaching in a Ukrainian district for the first time. He would be required to adjust to a new territory and a new people.

The wisdom of placing such new teachers amongst the Ukrainian settlers, representing as they did two vastly different cultures, is a debatable point. There is no doubt that many of these imported teachers were sincere, honest, and competent workers. On the other hand, the reports of the Department of Education through the years indicate that two or more teachers would pass through a given school in the course of a year. In some districts where teacher changes were frequent, the Ukrainian people regarded such migrating teachers as 'adventurers' or 'lumberjacks', and felt that the taxes they paid for the education of their children were being wasted.[45] In the Ukrainian districts the demand for Ukrainian teachers exceeded the supply, and their schools were the first to be vacant when teaching shortages became acute. When it is considered that the Ukrainians were interested in, and concerned with education, even in pioneering times, it might have been a wiser policy to have made more provision for the special training of Ukrainian teachers. It is possible that the well qualified Ukrainian teacher would have been more compatible with the needs of school children in the Ukrainian settlements.

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[43] D. S. Mackenzie, Deputy Minister of Education, **Seventh Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Province of Alberta, 1912, p.** 13. Edmonton: J. W. Jeffery, Government Printer, 1913.

[44] **Ibid.**

[45] W. Chumer, **op. cit., p. 71.**

George Skwarok, M.A., With Ukrainian School Children From Saskatchewan, Began His Teaching Career in 1908

Ukrainian Children's School Concert

Sometimes the impression is left that the early Ukrainian teachers were interested only in the Ukrainian language. This is definitely not so. Although they were willing to use the Ukrainian language in their explanations to the children and to teach the language after school hours, they understood the value and importance of a mastery of the English tongue. The Ukrainian teachers made efforts to improve themselves in this respect as well as the children. They felt that they were Ukrainian Canadians and that it was their duty to help the Ukrainian people and their children adjust themselves to the Canadian way of life by using the quickest possible methods. This point of view, which was prevalent amongst many of the Ukrainian teachers is reflected in the following inspector's report of 1910 from Saskatchewan.

> Excellent results appeared in one school, Ukraina, after two summers' work; and the Ruthenian teacher in charge, an exceptionally bright student, positively affirmed that he would not return to the school for another year on the ground that his pupils were ready for a skilful English-speaking teacher. His idea was that the Ruthenian pupils should acquire the Canadian outlook under the same sort of stimulus he was himself receiving as a student of the university. The spirit and desire of the Ruthenian people, as I know them, is indicated in this determination. They are anxious for an English education, but they feel, not without reason, that the first steps towards this should be taken under the guidance of men who understand their children and sympathize with their difficulties. That these people, good agriculturists undoubtedly, and as far as their intellectual advancement admits, good citizens, are willing to maintain the excellent schools so far organized, is a fact full of possibilities of future progress.[46]

The appearance of the Ukrainian teachers in the times of the Ukrainian settlers arose from an inherent need on the part of the settlers themselves and a spirit of dedication on the part of the young Ukrainian students who entered the training schools, such as were prepared for them by the various prairie governments. These Ukrainian teachers, possessing the same cultural and religious background as the Ukrainian settler faced with the grim reality of existence in the unopened West, were considered by the Ukrainians to be the solution to their educational problems. In the Alberta elections of 1913, it was alleged that the Ukrainian teachers were the political leaders

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[46] Walter C. Murray, "History of Education in Saskatchewan", **Canada and its Provinces,** Vol. 20, pp. 460-461. Edited by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1914.

Ukrainian Arts

behind the Ukrainian people who nominated independent Ukrainian candidates for the electoral race in several Ukrainian districts. The suggestion that the Liberal government which was returned to power in 1913 met the Ukrainian teachers with reprisals is open to question and further study. In spite of political difficulties in Alberta and Manitoba, the Ukrainian teachers played an important role in education during the early settling of the West.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The foregoing pages have dealt with the historical aspects of the educational problems of the Ukrainian settlers in Western Canada. These problems have been introduced by a brief survey of the historical factors responsible for the Ukrainian immigration to Canada. It has been shown that the mass migration which was heralded by the arrival of Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pillipiw in Canada was effected chiefly through the circumstances of economic necessity as experienced by the Ukrainian people in Ukraine. Essentially an agricultural people, they were prompted to emigrate from the Ukraine by their desire for more land. The tiny holdings they possessed were unable to furnish them with the necessities demanded by their expanding families. In Canada, they found the land which served to satisfy their innate desire to till the soil.

Their arrival in Canada was wrought with difficulties. The vast majority of the Ukrainians were of humble peasant stock. They were the children of serfs who had finally won their emancipation as late as 1848. In spite of their humility, poverty, and illiteracy, for educational opportunities for this type of people in the Ukraine were few, they were intensely conscious of their national identity, proud of their country's glorious history, and imbued with a deep sense of tradition and religious faith. Inured to poverty and hardship at home, an aftermath of the centuries of subjugation of the Ukraine by foreign powers, they did not foresee the tremendous suffering they were to undergo in their chosen homeland.

They bent their backs to a literally Herculean task of hewing out forests and breaking of virgin land. Their efforts found success where others had failed and given up hope. Their first years were essentially a struggle for existence and a self-preservation from the ravages of the elements. At this time there was no thought of education in the formal sense. But gradually, they were able to look about themselves and plan for their children's future.

A large part of the Canadian people looked upon the new strangers with suspicion and a degree of contempt. The Canadians could not understand these new people who spoke a strange language, lived in poverty, gregariously sought out each other for companionship, and observed their religious customs and traditions with ritualistic care. These Ukrainians were labelled Galicians, Bukowinians, Ruthenians, Rusyns, Russky, Russians, Austrians, and Poles indiscriminately by their Canadian neighbors. In fact, even at this late date many Canadians are still misinformed about the subject. Undoubtedly, the inferior social position the Ukrainians were forced to assume during their early years in Canada has been reflected in the occasional case of the third and fourth-generation Ukrainian Canadian of today who may seek to hide his ethnic background by legally accepting a new name and ignoring any knowledge whatsoever of the Ukrainian language.

The majority of the early Ukrainian immigrants came from the province of Galicia in Western Ukraine, which was almost entirely a Catholic province. There was a relatively smaller number of Ukrainians who came from the province of Bukowina or other districts of Ukraine. The first to attend to the spiritual wants of the Ukrainian Catholic settlers were the French Canadian missionaries. They, too, were the first to be concerned with their educational needs. In this regard their contribution was not only spiritual but material for they gave concrete help in the acquiring of land, and in the building and establishing of schools for Ukrainian children. Today, the Ukrainians are grateful to the French Canadian missionaries for their material help and moral encouragement during the pioneer beginnings.

With the arrival of the Basilian Fathers and Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate in 1902, the Ukrainians experienced a spiritual revival and found a solution to their immediate educational needs. A school was founded at Beaver Lake (Mundare) by the Basilian Fathers where the Ukrainian Sisters taught the children their catechism, the Ukrainian, and the English language. Similar schools were established in Edmonton, Winnipeg, and later at Yorkton.

As the flow of Ukrainian immigration increased schools began to be organized in districts which were predominantly populated by Ukrainians. By the end of the First World War, there were hundreds of these "Ukrainian school districts" scattered throughout the prairie provinces. The English speaking school teachers who were assigned to teach in school districts which were almost entirely inhabited by Ukrainian people

experienced many difficulties, because of the language barrier and because they were unable to understand the mentality and the historical background of these new Canadians. As a consequence, there was a great loss and wastage of time and effort, and the first educational gains were much less than were expected.

After the Ukrainians had won their first foothold in their newly adopted country, they began to appreciate their educational needs and problems more fully. They were anxious to have their children become proficient in the English language as a means for future success in the many fields of venture which were open to them. But they were convinced that the best means to the solution of their problems was the training of Ukrainian bi-lingual teachers who would be best qualified to meet the needs and difficulties found in the teaching of Ukrainian school children.

The Conservative Government of the province of Manitoba was the first to respond to the Ukrainian appeal for Ukrainian-English speaking school teachers. An exemplary training school was founded first in Winnipeg in 1904 and transferred to Brandon in 1908. These schools provided scores of well qualified teachers to work amongst the Ukrainians. Many of these young men were university students who eventually carved out successful careers for themselves and are recognized today as some of Canada's leading citizens. Others continued their studies at the universities and are represented fully in all the professions. Later, similar training schools were established at Regina and Vegreville. All of these made definite contributions towards the education of Ukrainian youth, but none had the success of the Brandon school.

When bi-lingualism was formally abolished in Manitoba in 1916, the last of the prairie provinces to do so, the Ukrainians established 'bursas' or hostels for university students in every major centre where the students were enabled to study the Ukrainian language, history, and literature, and were taught the principles of their faith.

In Alberta, the early Ukrainian teachers who had received teaching qualifications from the province of Manitoba ran into difficulty with the Alberta Department of Education. In 1913, the Ukrainian teachers did not meet the standards for qualification set up in Alberta and were required to leave their schools. In spite of the difficulties and misunderstandings which followed, the Ukrainian teachers have left a record of enterprise and achievement. Since the first Ukrainian student graduated from a Normal School in Alberta in 1916, many hundreds of

students of Ukrainian origin have received teaching qualification in Alberta. About eighty or ninety per cent of the teachers in at least two school divisions of Alberta, namely, the Lamont School Division and the Smoky Lake School Division, are of Ukrainian origin. Large numbers of Ukrainian Canadian teachers can be found in other Alberta School Divisions today.

An indication of the educational progress of Ukrainian Canadians through the decades in terms of years of education, level of grades reached, provision for high school facilities, and numbers of Ukrainian Canadian teachers for the various provinces is a subject for further intensive research. Since the early days, the Ukrainian educational scene in the prairie provinces has changed considerably. Now, hundreds of Ukrainian Canadian teachers are graduating annually from the Canadian universities, and Ukrainian Canadian students are found in every faculty of every university. There is no doubt, but that today in Western Canada they are, in proportion to their numbers, taking great advantage of the educational opportunities offered to them. They have established their colleges, hostels, high schools, academies, private schools, and seminaries. They are found on the teaching staff of almost every Canadian University. Today, many universities have established Departments of Slav Studies. Many university libraries are interested in and beginning to develop library divisions of Slav studies and associated problems. Young university graduates are developing an enthusiasm for study in this relatively unopened field of reseach. In particular, the Ukrainian Canadian aspect is almost virgin territory.

Today, the Ukrainians are struggling for recognition of the Ukrainian language as a high school subject and as a course of instruction in the universities. Now they have met with success in the Saskatchewan high schools where Ukrainian in offered as an optional subject and in the universities of Manitoba and Saskatchewan where the Ukrainian language is being offered on the courses of study. In August, 1958, Education Minister Anders Aalborg announced that Ukrainian language instruction will be offered in Alberta high schools starting in the fall of 1959. Many Ukrainian Canadians of Alberta are pleased that the Ukrainian language has now become a credit course of instruction at the University of Alberta.

The relatively few Anglo-Saxon interpreters of the educational problems of Ukrainian Canadians such as J. T. M. Anderson *Education of the New Canadians,* and C. H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians,* seem to suggest that the best means of solving the early educational difficulties of the newly arrived

Ukrainians was a rapid conformity to public school law. In this respect, according to C. H. Young:

> Alberta fared better than the other two Western provinces because she had a compulsory school attendance law, discouraged bilingual schools in the province, and from the first she arranged for the suspension of the powers of the local Ukrainian trustees, thereby taking the direction and the supervision of the schools out of the hands of the Ukrainians until such time as they became competent to manage the task.

The chapters of this work on the Ukrainian language and the Ukrainian teachers hint at the possibility that another and perhaps wiser course could have been followed by the Alberta educational administration in their dealings with a new people, proud of their racial origin and yet subservient to the circumstances of a new environment and language. The Ukrainians did not arrive from a mother-country ruling over an empire of world-scattered dominions, but were part of a nation which had been subjugated for centuries. In this new world, which was free and full of opportunity, they longed for the independence which had been denied them at home. Their immediate entry into the life of other pioneering communities was delayed by the barriers of language, old world traditions strange to their Canadian neighbors, and at first extreme poverty. The problems of the early Ukrainian settlers and their schools, particularly in Alberta, have only been highlighted in this work and are worthy of further research.

The Ukrainian Teachers' Conventions which began to take active organizational form in Alberta in the early twenties is another field for research. The reports, problems, programs, conventions of nearly eighty Alberta schools in Ukrainian districts are available to the student of research anxious to follow up the present work. The Ukrainian English Teachers Organization of Canada which was founded at the time of the first training schools in Manitoba is another open field for study.

The historical report of the Ukrainian settlers and their schools as presented in the chapters of this study does not pretend to cover all aspects and phases of the school problems and progress of the Ukrainian settlers. The purpose here is to give a unified picture of the many patterns of the early Ukrainan Canadian educational development to serve as an impetus and guide for further investigation in almost unknown territory. In the province of Alberta, where hundreds of teachers and students are of Ukrainian origin, continued research in the areas suggested should reveal the interreaction of challenging principles of equality, liberty, and justice.

The educational history of the Ukrainians in Canada barely covers a span of sixty years. Most of it lies recorded in the pages of old Ukrainian newspapers and calendar-almanacs, many of which are no longer existent, but even today much of this material is still available. The energetic student of research will find that these faded pages will reveal a progressive record of educational enterprise and achievement.

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APPENDIX I

GLOSSARY OF UNUSUAL TERMS

Bukowina — a province of Western Ukraine.
chlop — a rude male peasant, a serf.
Galicia — a province of Western Ukraine.
Hetman — title of Ukrainian military ruler and head of the State.
hospodarstvo — a farm holding, usually a few acres in size.
kobzar — an intinerant minstrel who played on the kobza; also a collection of the poems composed by Taras Shevchenko.
kripatstvo — an extreme form of serfdom, almost slavery.
morg — an area of land equal to 1.38 acres.
pan — a landlord.
panschyna — a system of serfdom, in the manner of feudal tenure, controlled by a landlord.
rynsky — about forty cents.
Svoboda — Freedom, a Ukrainian American newspaper.
Ukrainians — incorrectly called Austrians, Bukowinians, Galicians, Little Russians, Russians, Rusky, Russniaks, Rusyns, Ruthenians, and Poles.
Zaporozhian Sich — a stronghold of the Ukrainian Cossack Army at the mouth of the Dnieper River.

APPENDIX II

A BRIEF HISTORICAL SURVEY OF UKRAINIAN LITERATURE IN CANADA

A BRIEF HISTORICAL SURVEY OF UKRAINIAN LITERATURE IN CANADA

Definition of the Problem

According to a leading authority on European-Canadian literature, Professor Watson Kirkconnell,

> At least ten thousand Ukrainian poems lie mouldering in the back files of the Ukrainian Canadian Press . . . . Of the hundred or so Canadians publishing poetry today in Ukrainian, the majority turn out the simplest kind of ballad measure, with thought and expression ranging all the way from flabby doggerel up to genuine human power.[1]
>
> To this poetry should be added also thousands of anecdotes, short stories, novels, plays, and works of scholarship. In comparison with the Canadian average, the literary output of the Ukrainian-Canadian must be considered as prodigious.[1]

The above two statements are indicative that there is a Ukrainian literature in Canada and the purpose of this report is to bear witness to this fact, to show that the problem has merits which can be appreciated, and that the Ukrainians in Canada have made a definite contribution to Canadian culture in the literary field.

It is important to notice that this report includes some contributions of the Ukrainians to Canadian literature and stresses the opinions and commentaries of the relatively few experts in the field. That there are relatively few is indicative that the research problem presented here is new. The Anglo-Saxon experts which have been drawn upon in preference to Ukrainian-origin sources wherever possible, are men and women who are leaders or educators in the literary field. But that these men and women who have had the courage to master the Ukrainian language because of their conviction of the literary merits to be found within Ukrainian literature, or at least men and women who have found it of interest to study the Ukrainian con-

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[1] Watson Kirkconnell, "Ukrainian Canadian Literature", p. 3. **Opinion,** (September, October, 1947).

tribution in the English language is evidence enough that this short study is of research value and is worthy of further scientific investigation.

In Florence Randal Livesay's translation of Hrihory Kvitka's *Marusia,* His Excellency Lord Tweedsmuir, former Governor-General of Canada, writes in his Introduction to the book,

> In Canada, especially in the middle West, we have a large Ukrainian population, and it is therefore most fitting that we should know something about their classics. The newcomers from Central and Eastern Europe have much to gain from Canada, but they have also something to give. They can contribute out of their own folk culture — in letters and music — to Canada's intellectual life, and to give as well as to get is the basis of selfrespect. So I welcome the publication of Marusia in English as a happy augury.[2]

Since Tweedsmuir's happy augury, the last fifteen years have seen great strides in the Ukrainian Canadian literature. Young Ukrainian-Canadians, finding a new pride in their simple peasant fathers who first came to Canada to till the soil just seventy years ago, have expressed their pride in such fine works as Vera Lysenko's *Men in Sheepskin Coats,* her *Yellow Boots,* and recent *Westerly Wild.* We find Elias Kiriak writing his epic *Sons of the Soil,* Gus Romaniuk's autobiography *Taking Root in Canada,* William Paluk's *Canadian Cossacks,* and the University of Alberta has produced such young writers as Merron Chorny who has written his first novel about the early Ukrainian-Canadian way of life.

This pride of the young Ukrainians in their heritage and birthright is expressed beautifully by Myra Lazechko-Haas in a letter of April 15, 1951.[3]

> I write in the English language, mostly on Canadian subjects. That bulk of my work which reads on Ukrainian themes, is also in English. It is my sincerest belief that the assimilation in verse, of my Ukrainian heritage and my Canadian birthright, can best be expressed not in the culmination of a national language, but in the culmination of a common language in which is blended the richness and potency of my father's past and the clarity and vision of my children's future.

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[2] Florence Randal Livesay, **Marusia,** p. 7. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. Inc., 1940.

[3] Winnipeg Free Essay Contest, first prize for Dominion of Canada. I.O.D.E. 1935/6.

Essay Contest, second prize for Dominion of Canada, I.O.D.E.

First prize for poem Prodigal for Canada and British Isles, 1947, Canadian Authors' Association.

My interest is not to arouse interest in those peoples to whom the Ukrainian language and customs are familiar; but to arouse the interest, sympathy and understanding of those peoples of various descents who make up Canada, all those peoples whose background is synonymous but different from ours.

Let us say, then, that I believe in the preservation of heritage, but that I believe, above all, not in the preservation of the original, but in the adaption of that original through the vehicle of a common language, for the benefit, stability and pride of those, who through intermarriage have been enriched by a history still unchartered and unknown to them.

Anglo-Saxon Interpreters

Several prominent Anglo-Saxons have become genuinely interested in the Ukrainians, a stateless people, and have published authoritative accounts of them. Of these should be mentioned Dr. A. J. Hunter, the late Rev. Percial Cundy, Professor Watson Kirkconnell, Professor Clarence A. Manning, Florence Randal Livesay and Professor George W. Simpson, not only for their study and translation of Ukrainian literature but for their sympathetic interpretation of the people to the general Canadian citizenry.

Alexander Jardine Hunter (1868-1940) did missionary work in Teulon, Manitoba, among Ukrainian settlers for the Presbyterian Church and later United Church. In 1922, he published *The Kobzar of the Ukraine*, a translation with comments on the immortal bard of Ukraine, Taras Shewchenko. In 1929, he published *A Friendly Adventure*, the chief religious movements among Ukrainians, and was editor of the English section in *Kanadiysky Ranok*.[4]

Percival Cundy (-1949) a Presbyterian minister in Western Canada, in 1932 published *A Voice from Ukraina*, submitted scholarly articles to the *Ukrainian Quarterly* and translated Franko's and Lesia Ukrainka's poetry in *Ivan Franko, the Poet of Western Ukraine* (New York, 1949) and *Spirit of Flame* (New York, 1950).

Watson Kirkconnell (1895-) Professor of English of McMaster University, later President of Acadia University, Nova Scotia, and now of Columbia University, is considered the leading Anglo-Saxon authority on the Ukrainian Canadians. as translator, critic, and interpreter. He has written scholarly articles on Ukrainian literature in *Canadian Overtones* (Winnipeg, 1935) with English verse translations of some of the poets, *Twilight of Liberty* (Toronto, 1941). *Slavonic Review* (Lon-

[4] Biographical sketch in Manitoba School Journal, January, 1941.

don, July, 1934), *University of Toronto Quarterly* (annually since 1937). *Opinion* (Winnipeg, September, 1947). Many other of his books deal with the Ukrainian people.

Clarence A. Manning, Professor of East European Languages of Columbia University, is noted for his publications on *Ivan Franko* (New York, 1937), his translations of and commentaries on Shevchenko's poetry in *Taras Shevchenko* (New Jersey. 1945); *Ukrainian Literature Studies of the Leading Authors* (New Jersey, 1944); as well as his many introductions and prefaces to newer publications on Ukrainian literature.

Florence Randal Livesay is noted for her translations of Ukrainian poetry publishing. *Songs of Ukraina,* and fiction, *Marusia,* (New York, 1940).

Professor Geo. W. Simpson, University of Saskatchewan for his lectures and addresses, as well as publications on the Ukrainian Canadians and their contribution to Canadian culture.

Ukrainian-Canadian Interpreters and Critics

Dmytro Doroshenko (1882-1951) the distinguished Ukrainian historian. *History of Ukraine* (Edmonton, 1939). president of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences. and Ukrainian educationist in Western Canada.

Leonid Bilecky (1882-) formerly professor of Literature in Prague, author of many scholarly works on literature, such as *History of Ukrainian Literature; Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada 1891-1951,* and is noted for a four-volume work, Taras Shevchenko's *Kobzar* (1952).

Dr. Ilarion Ohienko, poet and foremost grammatical authority on modern Ukrainian, author of numerous works of prose and poetry.

Jaroslaw B. Rudnyckyj (1910-) of the University of Manitoba established the Department of Slavic Studies. His best research works are on *Canadian Place Names of Ukrainian Origin.*

C. H. Andrusyshyn, Winnipeg born, graduate of Manitoba, Paris, and Harvard Universities, professor of Slavic Languages, University of Saskatchewan. has published *Ukrainian Literature* (Winnipeg, 1949). He has also translated notable examples for the *Ukrainian Quarterly* (New York).

M. Luchkowich, former Member of Parliament, translator of Nicholas Prychodko's *One of the Fifteen Million,* Elias Kiriak's three volume *Sons of the Soil,* and is one of Western Canada's best known Ukrainian Canadian reviewers, letter writers, and literary critics.

The Ukrainian-Canadian poets fall into three categories:

1) The generation that came to Canada before 1914;

2) The Post-War emigres and political refugees, many of them graduates of European universities;

3) The Canadian-born or Canadian-bred group often educated in our Canadian Universities.

The Generation Before 1914

Within this pioneer group of poets, the following should be mentioned: Theodore Fedik, *Immigrant Songs of the Old Land and the New* (Winnipeg, 1911); Joseph Yasenchuk of Bellis, Alberta, *The Canadian Kobzar* (Edmonton, 1918); Michael Kumka of Winnipeg; Ivan Novosad of Oakburn; Manitoba; Ivan Pavchuk of Oakburn; Vasil Kudrik of Saskatoon; Semen Kowbel of Winnipeg; George Skwarok of Edmonton, *History of Ukraine* in verse (Winnipeg, 1918); Vasil K. Holovatsky of Winnipeg; and Dmitro Raragovsky of Edmonton, Alberta.

The most important of these is Theodore Fedik. His *Immigrant Songs* sold over fifty-thousand copies. He wrote in the "kolomiyka" or trochaic ballad-measure of Ukrainian folk-poetry. This work paints a typical picture of the early Ukrainian immigrant, his home-sickness, bitter hardships, patience, poverty and resoluteness. It is because of this early poverty that Watson Kirkconnell suggests that ten-thousand Ukrainian poems lie embalmed in the back files of the newspapers of Western Canada. He says,

> Poetry in book form is relatively scanty... Most of this material is the saddest sort of doggerel; a quantity is tolerable; while a precious remnant is worthy of preservation both as poetry per se and as a moving record of the experiences and aspirations of the Ukrainians in Canada.[5]

The Emigre Poets

The European-trained post-War emigres include Dr. Peter Karmansky (Lemberg, Rome); Dr. Mykyta Mandryka (Kiev, Sofia, Prague); Andrew Gospodyn (Czechoslovakia); Dr. Ivan Ohienko (Warsaw); Vasyl Toolivetroo (Odessa); Professor T. K. Pavlychenko of the University of Saskatchewan; Rev. Taras Volohatuka of Swan Lake; Rev. Ivan Kmeta-Efimovich of Sas-

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[5] Watson Kirkconnell, **Canadian Overtones,** p. 77. Winnipeg: Columbia Press Ltd., 1935.

katoon; Rev. Andrew Truh, O.S.B.M. of Mundare, Alberta; Volodomyr Kupchenko and Joseph Sayek.

Although it is accidental that many of these men are writing poetry in Canada, the fact that they are teaching, farming, or active in missionary work in Canada, as Father Truh has been for twenty-five years, justifies their inclusion among Ukrainian-Canadian poets.

The Canadian-Born or Canadian-Bred Group

This is probably the most interesting group of all. These young poets educated in Canadian schools and universities obviously consider themselves as Canadians, yet are deliberately trying to create Canadian literature in the Ukrainian language. Although they feel that their spiritual roots are buried deeply in their Ukrainian past, they draw upon the inspirational experiences of their new country for their creative work. This viewpoint has been beautifully expressed by Ivan Danylchuk in the preface to his first volume of poems, *Day Dreams* (Winnipeg, 1929, pp. 55).

> The Canadian Walt Whitman has not arrived. The sound of the golden sea has entered into our hearts, bringing yearning of supreme beauty and radiance. It incites us to sing, but it has not betrayed its secret, for it speaks the Indian language. The Ukrainian prairies gave us our souls, but the Canadian prairies have stirred us up to sing. These influences have united, and we do not grasp them: in the sound of the storm we hear tales of Hiawatha and in dreams we see Zaporogian Perebynis. We sing, and our strange songs, in which cannot match tones of equal force, are not wholly akin either to the golden Canadian prairies which have reared and inspired us or to the Ukrainian prairies from which we derive our spiritual past.

Among this group may be included: Honore Ewach, (1900-), graduate of the University of Saskatchewan; Panteleymon Bozyk (1883-1944); Stephen Doroschuk (1894-); Semen W. Sawchuk (1899-); Peter Basil Chaykiwsky (1888-); Michael Krepiakewich, Elias Kiriak of Vilna, Alberta; Tetiana Kroitor; Ivan Danylchuk (1901-42); Paul Crath; Anna Pruska; Maria Adamovska; and Myra Lazechko. All of these except Myra Lazechko voluntarily use Ukrainian for their works although most of them are equally at home in English or Ukrainian. Thus Ewach, Sawchuk, Danylchuk, and Krepiakewich are graduates of the University of Saskatchewan; Tetiana Kroitor is an alumna of Queen's; Kiriak hails from the University of Alberta; while Paul Crath is a graduate of the Presbyterian

Theological College in Saskatoon. Myra Lazechko (born in Winnipeg 1920) is a graduate of the University of California.

Honore Ewach possibly leads all others in his work of interpretation in his writing of Ukrainian full-length histories of Great Britain and of Canada. He has published an ambitious anthology of Ukrainian Songs and Lyrics (Winnipeg, 1933), translated into English verse by himself. Myra Lazechko has won first prize in 1947 in the nation-wide poetry contest sponsored by the Poetry Society of Canada with her poem, *"Prodigal"*.[6]

As we see in the specimen taken from Danylchuk's preface, these young writers were masters of the English language, yet more often they chose to write in Ukrainian. Kirkconnell defends their choice of language when he says,

> Had these poets elected to write in English, it is unlikely that they would have been worth reading. And finally, we have in this work a spontaneous, moving, and profoundly illuminating portrayal of the emotional and intellectual reactions involved in a great modern migration of peoples into the midst of a strange land and an alien culture. Centuries hence, Ukrainian poetry will be treasured as a record of human experience.[7]

Ukrainian Drama

Although many of the Ukrainian plays may not be of high literary standard they are very practical and appeal to the public fancy. They may be slap-stick comedy, or in many cases portray Ukrainian history, the struggle for freedom. Often they have settings in Canada.

The first Ukrainian play published in Canada appeared in Winnipeg in 1909 entitled *The Killers.* Other playwrights are: Dmytro Hunkiewich (1893-1952), who wrote about fifteen dramas; Semen Kowbel who published his first in 1920 and wrote six or seven five-act dramas; Myroslaw Irchan (1896-) whose plays had an outright subversive character and were never popular in Canada; Michael Krepiakevich mentioned previously; the versatile Honore Ewach; and Wasyl Toolivetroo of Hamilton.

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[6] Her poems have been published in Canadian magazines and newspapers.

William Paluk, "Rising Poetess", **Opinion,** July-August, 1947.

[7] Watson Kirkconnell, **Canadian Overtones,** p. 81. Winnipeg: Columbia Press, Ltd., 1935.

Ukrainian Prose Writers

In the field of fiction the names of Elias Kiriak and Vera Lysenko stand out. Kiriak published his three volume epic, *Sons of the Soil,* in Edmonton, 1939. Vera Lysenko, graduate of the University of Manitoba. writing in English, has given the first historical account of the Ukrainians in Canada, entitled *Men in Sheepskin Coats* (1947). It contains much valuable historical materials, but omits much that is of importance and displays a definite Ukrainian Communist bias.[8] Her novel, *Yellow Boots* (Toronto, 1954, pp. 315), presents a vivid portrait of a girl growing up in a Ukrainian immigrant community in the Canadian West. It shows her efforts to free herself from the shackles of peasant superstition, and at the same time preserve the beautiful and permanent values in her racial heritage. Lysenko's latest novel just off the press is *Westerly Wild,* (Toronto, 1956, pp. 284). It has for its setting the rolling countryside of southwestern Saskatchewan in the time of drought, in order to depict its searing effect on human lives and the violent clash of strong personalities in a corroding environment.

Other fiction writers are: Apolinar Nowak (1886-); Ivan Pawchuk (1884-); Honore Ewach; a coming new novelist, Merron Chorny of Innisfree, Alberta; Dmytro Sollanych (1874-1939) of Meacham, Saskatchewan; Tetiana Kraitor of Winnipeg; Michael Petrowsky of Ottawa (1897) and his *Magic City;* Jacob Kret and his *Secret Crime;* D. Kolisnyk and his *My Village;* and Alexis Luhowy.

On the more serious side we find: Panteleymon Bozyk writing on *The Ukrainian Church in Canada;* William Paluk, *Canadian Cossacks* (Winnipeg, 1943) on the Ukrainian-Canadian life; Dr. Mykyta Mandryka, *Theory of Economic Democracy;* Dr. Alexander Koshetz (1875-1944) noted for his works on musicology; Dr. Ivan Ohienko on *Ukrainian Orthography;* Dr. Dmytro Doroshenko who won immediate recognition for his *History of the Ukraine;* Leonid Bilecky for his many works on Ukrainian literature (European); and Jaroslaw B. Rudnyckyj (1910-) known for his *"Onomastica"* series.

In the way of autobiography, Gus Romaniuk's *Taking Root in Canada* (Winnipeg, 1954, pp. 283). He writes in English and tells his Canadian story since coming to this country as a boy in 1912. Of the emigre writers Nicholas Prychodka's *One of the Million,* translated by M. Luchkowich (J. M. Dent

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[8] Paul Yuzyk, **The Ukrainians in Manitoba,** p. 141. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953.

and Sons, Toronto, 1952), and Dr. Ivan Nimchuk's tragic story, *595 Days a Soviet Prisoner* (Toronto, 1950) are well worthy of interest.

Elias Kiriak and His Epic, Sons of the Soil [9]

This three volume work by Elias Kiriak is a family chronicle dealing with five immigrant families who emigrated to Alberta sixty years ago and settled on the virgin prairies of the West. This excellent epic novel has now appeared in one volume of eight hundred and fifty pages, translated into English by the nationally known writer and interpreter of the Ukrainian cause and its culture, Michael Luchkowich of Edmonton, Alberta, the first Ukrainian Canadian to be elected a Member of Parliament for Canada.

Commenting on the *Sons of the Soil,* Professor C. H. Andrusyshen, University of Saskatchewan, writes,[10]

> An epic may take place in peaceful surroundings, not necessarily in the confusion and hurly-burly of a bloody action. It may be well borne in mind that anything that smacks of the primeval elementary force is epic in character and nature, regardless of the circumstances.
>
> But if, as has often been emphasized, simplicity is the chief attribute of genuine art, then this is indeed an artistic product. In any case, the simple ordinary deeds of the people that move and have life in it assume the magnitude of heroic exploits. Of that, there is no doubt. They are indeed simple folks that enliven the pages of this book.
>
> And so simplicity is its main characteristic and, to be sure, its chief asset, indeed a factor that elevates it to epic height.
>
> Sons of the Soil is a rare psychological and sociological study of a people who battle against terrible odds and finally emerge victorious. In this story the Ukrainian element may be said to be representative of all the immigrant groups that come to Canada at about the same time. Sons of he Soil is a genuinely Canadian epic because what it contains is part of Canadian history, that history which is not written with letters of blood on the fields of battle where man struggles for the sustenance of God's creatures and where the only thing tamed and laid low is the rigidity of nature and its law. There too are heroes; but they are the unsung ones, the unproclaimed ones, whose only monument is the memory of them and their superhuman labor that remains in the minds of grateful and respectful generations that follow.

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[9] Elias Kiriak, **Sons of the Soil,** Volume I, II, III. Edmonton: The Institute Press, 1939.

[10] Professor C. H. Andrusyshen, **Ukrainian Year Book,** Winnipeg: F. A. MaCrouch Publisher, 1951-52.

M. Luchkowich, in a letter to the Editor of *Svoboda*[11] on the same theme says,

> Running through the entire eight hundred and fifty pages of Sons of the Soil, the reader will find the heart touch of a man who knows his theme because of his great powers of observation, and because of his close association with the locality and the people about whom he writes so delightfully. The reader will not find much theorizing in this book but he will be surprised over how much thinking he will do after he will have read the book. For Mr. Kiriak gropes so unobtrusively into the reader's consciousness that he will be surprised how readily he has come to his own conclusions without being told what they should be by the writer. For this is art. There isn't much theory in the Sons of the Soil; but there is what one writer called "a heap of living".

Conclusion

This report has been a brief attempt to survey the literary contribution of Ukrainians in Canada. The Ukrainians who came to Canada sixty years ago to till the soil, hew the forests, and band the nation with rails of steel have produced sons and daughters who are conscious of pride in their peasant forefathers. When the early pioneers sang and composed their simple lyrics, it was because they came of a people in whom it is inherent to sing. Although little of these early attempts at writing have literary merit, it is justified as a record of human endeavor and experience. The new generations which have risen to find an easier and whiter bread have entered the various professions and as teachers, lawyers, nurses, doctors, politicians, journalists, scientists, and scholars are making themselves heard.[12] Many of these, mindful of their Canadian birthright and talented with the gift of expressing themselves well are emerging as writers of distinction. It is in appreciation of these gifts that Saturday Night writes of Vera Lysenko's *Yellow Boots*. "This is without serious question one of the best novels ever written by a Canadian", and the *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix* commenting on the same says, "Here is writing of the Canadiana kind at its very best." Such is Myra Lazechko, winner of the Canadian poetry prize. Such is the genius of an Elias Kiriak.

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[11] Letter to the Editor, **Svoboda,** March 17, 1956, Jersey City, New Jersey.

[12] Some school divisions in Alberta now have 80% to 90% of their teachers Ukrainian in origin. H. Kostash, Superintendent, Smoky Lake School Division, 1956.

All this is indeed a happy augury. Today Ukrainian Canadians are becoming wielders of the pen. Within the last decade poets, writers, scholars, are making themselves heard. Some are those whose names are as yet but little known, but whose spark of brilliance has already flashed, and who are now weaving the pattern for tomorrow's history of Ukrainian literature in Canada.

Little has been done in this field of investigation, but already it has attracted not only Ukrainians but men of other tongues and climes. This innate ability of the Ukrainian to sing whether it be in song or in verse is an element found in their Ukrainian birthright and a great tradition of Ukrainian literature sparked by the genius of Taras Shevchenko, the poet of Ukraine. May these young Canadians come into their own and give Canada that cultural contribution which she is only too ready to accept from them.

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ERRATA

P. 9, 2nd par. — Wasyl Eleniak died Jan. 12, 1956
P. 24, 5th par. — Platinid should read Platonid
P 31, Title — Basilan should read Basilian
P. 36, 2nd par. — 1912 should read 1913
P. 40, 1st par. — Adonais should read Adonias
4th par. — 79 should read 74
P. 43, 3rd par. — catholique should read catholiques
4th par. — on should read en
5th par. — 1910 should read 1915
P. 44, 1st par. — small seminary should read minor seminary
3rd par. — trouveras should read trouvera
P. 50, 3rd par. — 1914 should read 1915
P. 121, Top picture title — From should read In